

# MODERN INDIAN HISTORY VOL. II

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INDIAN HISTORY  
S. C. SARKAR  
AND  
K. K. DATTA.

# MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

## Vol. II

(THROUGHLY REVISED & ENLARGED)

BY

DR. S. C. SARKAR, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON)

*Formerly Head of the History Department  
Patna College, Patna*

AND

DR. K. K. DATTA M.A., PHD.

*Premchand Roychand Scholar, Mouat Medalist, Griffith  
Prizeman; formerly Head of the History Department,  
Patna University, Patna; Principal, Patna College, Patna*



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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It is now about nineteen years since the First Edition of this book saw light. There have been subsequently many reprints, for each of which additions and alterations, in factual details or presentation thereof, were duly considered and made, and the matter of the book has thus been kept up-to-date. In the present edition the history of the country for the last two decades has been traced, and care has been taken to avoid controversial issues,—which has been rather a difficult job, since this history is much too recent for impartial and unbiased presentation. Yet, without a basically reliable historical narrative linking up with to-day, the earlier chapters of our modern history must remain suspended in air as it were.

We have tried to make the book useful to a circle of readers much wider than the Universities, to learners as well as to maturer minds; and the Hindi version of the book is calculated to increase its utility for the public in a large part of Northern India, while for the rest of the country, as well as for the outside world, the English version will probably hold its ground. Many of the original purposes of this book, as explained in the Preface to its First Edition, still remain as objects, as we have considered these to be indispensable.

Patna,  
September, 1951.

S. C. SARKAR.  
K. K. DATTA.

## PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

In this edition all the chapters have been carefully revised, and the narrative in each chapter has been brought up-to-date. The salient features of the new constitution of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India, changes in the position of the Indian States, territorial redistribution, and recent social, economic and cultural changes have been duly incorporated.

Patna,  
June, 1958.

# CONTENTS

	Pages
CHAPTER 1—ADVENT AND EARLY PROGRESS AND RIVALRIES OF EUROPEAN TRADING NATIONS . . . . .	1—24
<i>Section I—The Portuguese</i>	
Effects of the fifteenth century geographical discoveries—The Arab trade in the Indian Ocean captured by Portugal—Portuguese relations with the Zamorin—Albuquerque's schemes for territorial expansion followed by his successors—Causes of the failure of the Portuguese.	1—3
<i>Section II—The Dutch</i>	
The Dutch United Company—The English East India Company—The Ostend Company—The Swedish Company—Rivalry of the European trading companies : (i) the Portuguese and the Dutch, Growing Dutch menace, the Dutch in the mainland of India; (ii) the Portuguese and the English, Ormuz, convention of 1634. Anglo-Portuguese settlement, Portuguese degeneration into piracy and slave-trade; (iii) the English and the Dutch in the seventeenth century—Causes of conflict—Course of the conflict in the East Indies—Amboyna Massacre—Treaty of Westminster—The English in India—The Dutch in the Archipelago—New phase of rivalry—Commercial, not political.	3—8
<i>Section III—The French</i>	
French activities in India and the East Indies checked by the Dutch—New ventures under Richelieu's and Colbert's influence—French factories and settlement—Franco-Dutch conflict—Decline of the French Settlement except Pondicherry—Growing exhaustion of the French resources—Reconstitution of the French East India Company and progress again—French objects at first commercial, not political.	8—12
<i>Section IV—The English</i>	
Origin of the English East India company—Separate Voyages—Difficulties—Charter of James I—Embassy of Roe—English factories—Persian help against the Portuguese—Grant of Bombay—East coast factories—Grant of Madras—Factories in Orissa and Bengal—Cromwell's Charter—Improvement of Company's position and change of policy—Effect of the political conditions in India on the East India Company: change from a commercial to a territorial policy—Anglo-Mughal hostility—The <i>firmán</i> of 1680—English resort to force—Sack of Hugli and other places—War with the Mughals in the west coast—Growth of Calcutta—Depression in Company's West Indian trade—Rivals of the East India Company—Union of the Companies—Prosperity of the Company in the eighteenth century—The <i>firmán</i> of 1717 : its importance—The Company's west coast trade—Madras coast—Bengal.	12—24

## CHAPTER II—ANGLO-FORENCH RELATIONS IN INDIA (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

25—54

Anglo-French rivalry in the eighteenth century: local as well as worldwide causes—Four stages of the conflict—Political condition of the Deccan: the Nizam-ul-Mulk—The Dutch, the French, the English—The Carnatic, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, the Marathas, Mysore—The Marathas in Carnatic and effects—Disputed state of the Carnatic—*First* stage of the Anglo-French hostilities—La Bourdonnais and Dupleix—Disputes between La Bourdonnais and Dupleix—Dupleix French siege of Madras and the capitulation of the English—again sieges Madras—Conflict with Anwaruddin over Madras—Defence of Fort St. David by the English—English siege of Pondicherry failed—The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and results—The *second* stage of the conflict—Causes—Wars of Succession in the Deccan—English interference in Tanjore succession—French interference in the succession questions after the Nizam-ul-Mulk's death—Muzaffar Jang, Chand Saheb and Dupleix *versus* Nasir Jang, Muhammad Ali and the English—Muzaffar Jang as the Deccan Subahdar and Chand Saheb. Nawab of Arcot—Increased prestige of Dupleix who arranged the Carnatic affairs—English opposition—Bussy and Salabat Jang—Decline of Dupleix's influence in the Carnatic—The English and Muhammad Ali *versus* the French and Chand Saheb—Siege of Trichinopoly—Career and Policy of Robert Clive—Siege of Arcot—Difficulties of Dupleix—Anglo-French Conference abortive—Hostilities—Treaty: its effects—Character and Policy of Dupleix—The *third* stage of the conflict—The Seven Years' War—Lally in command—French victories in the Carnatic but defeats in Bengal—Surrender of Chandernagore and effect—Hostilities in the South—French Siege of Fort St. David—Lally's plans to restore French fortunes—Siege of Madras failed—Effects of the battle of Wandiwash—Lally's fate—The *fourth* stage of the conflict—Latter part of the eighteenth century—Causes of the failure of the French.

25—54

55—90

## CHAPTER III—GROWTH OF AN ENGLISH DOMINION IN BENGAL

Section I—*From Plassey to Buxar or the First Dyarchy in Bengal*  
(1756—64)

Siraj-ud-dowla in Bengal—Policy towards the English—Causes of conflict—Capture of Kassimbazar—Capture of Calcutta and the 'Black Hole' myth? English attempts to recover Calcutta—Treaty between Siraj and the English—Reasons explained—Its effects—Intrigues in Bengal against Siraj—English conditions for joining them—The forged treaty—The battle of Plassey—End of Siraj—Mir Jafar as Nawab—The price paid by Bengal—Results of the battle of Plassey—Privileges of the English—Unpopular Government of Mir Jafar—External dangers—The Dutch expedition to Bengal—Dutch defeat at Bedara—General position of the English on Clive's Departure—Mir Jafar's plight—Anarchy in Bengal—the Company's plans—Mir Casim's conspiracy with the English—Elevation to the Nawabship of Bengal—Criticism—Mir Casim's government—Cause of his conflict with the English—Trade questions—the Ellis affair—Mir

Casim's defeats—Patna massacre—Mir Jafar again—Trade privileges of the English—Mir Casim in Oudh—Battle of Buxar and its effects—the Company's treaty with the new Nawab of Bengal—Condition of the country.

55—78

*Section II—From Dewani to Sovereignty or the Second Dyarchy in Bengal (1765—72)*

Clive's governorship in Bengal—His reforms—settlements with the Emperor and the Nawab of Oudh—the Dewani and its effects : Division of responsibility and power; dyarchy, Clive's favourite policy—Bengal after Clive's departure—Revenue reforms—Conditions in Southern India : the Carnatic; the Mysore; the Marathas; the Nizam—Rise of Hyder Ali and his treaty with the Company—Effects of the Southern wars on Bengal finances—Parliamentary intervention.

79—90

CHAPTER IV—EAST INDIA COMPANY AS AN INDO-BRITISH POWER (1772—86)

91—118

*Section I—Internal Administration under Hastings*

Hastings commissioned to make a complete reformation—Too much left to his discretion—The stamp of Hastings on all measures for some years—His initial difficulties—Four classes of reforms: commercial, constitutional, revenue and Judicial—Abuse of 'dustucks' checked—Zemindari customs houses suppressed—customs houses reduced to five—Duties lowered—Thus internal trade relieved—Tried to remove currency abuses—Attempted paper currency—Hastings insists on direct responsibility of East India Company for government—Recall and trial of Reza Khan and Shitab Ray—Their offices abolished—Bengal Nawab's establishment reorganised—Pension halved—Treasury removed to Calcutta, the political centre—Hastings' Committee of Revenue—*Super-visors* became direct *collectors* assisted by native officers—Each *pargana* let out to highest bidder for five years—The 'temporary plan' of Provincial Councils takes effect, 1874—The 'final plan' of 1881—Hastings not in favour of replacing native law and courts by English—Digest of Hindu law—Existing materials utilised for new district courts, civil and criminal, and for central courts—Rules for improved work of law courts—Mayor's court reformed—Suppression of dacoits and raiders—Importance of the Regulating Act—State of opinion in England *re* East India Company affairs—Parliament interferes in 1767 and takes annual tribute—State loan to East India Company, 1773, on conditions—Followed by Regulating Act—What it did—Criticism of the Act—Reasons for its failure—The new regime from October 1774—Six years' struggle—Council *versus* Hastings—*re* Robilla War—*re* Treaty of Faizabad with Oudh—Quarrels with Council weaken Hastings' position—Charges of corruption brought against him by Rani of Burdwan : by Nandakumar—Council finds Hastings guilty—Counter-cases brought against Nandakumar by Hastings and Mohan Prasad—Trial and execution of Nandakumar—Charges against Hastings dropped by law officers in England—Criticism of Hastings' conduct and of the justice of Nandakumar's trial—Suspicion of a conspiracy

against Nandakumar—The Council's conduct—Indian affairs again taken up by Parliament, eight years after Regulating Act—Select and Secret Committees of 1781—Commons motion of May 1782 to recall Hastings—Fox's India Bills—Main features—Defeated—Pitt's India Act—Its importance—What it did.

91—102

### *Section II—External Relations under Hastings*

Three lines of foreign policy : *re* Mughal Emperor; *re* Oudh and Rohilkhand; *re* West and South India—Maratha Revival after Panipat—The Emperor in the hands of the Marathas; Korah and Allahabad made over to them—Hastings' attitude—Stoppage of tribute—Treaty of Banaras with Oudh—Korah and Allahabad sold—East India Company troops for Oudh—Criticism of the Treaty—Oudh alliance the pillars of Hastings' foreign policy but it leads to Rohilla War—Antecedents and course of the War—The part of the English in it—Criticism of Hastings conduct *re* the Rohilla war—Chief motive mercenary—Bombay Council makes the Treaty of Surat with Raghunath Rao—Terms of the Treaty—Birth of Narayan Rao's posthumous son—Battle of Arras—Calcutta Council condemns Bombay Council's action—Concludes Treaty of Purandar with Maratha leaders—Terms of the treaty—Bombay Council evades it—Suspicion of French influence in Maratha country—Directors' disapproval—Bombay Council renews alliance with Raghunath Rao, and begins hostilities but fails and concludes disgraceful convention of Wadgaon—Hastings disavows it, and tries to restore English prestige in India—Goddard's march—His defeat—Popham capture Gwalior—Sindhia defeated at Sipri—Treaty of Salbai, through Sindhia's mediation—Gain in prestige, but material losses—A turning point in Indo-British history (second check to Marathas twenty years after Panipat)—Complex political affairs of Madras Council—Its relations with Carnatic Nawab, compared with Calcutta Council's with Bengal Nawab—interference of Home authorities—East India Company servants corrupted by the Nawab—Madras Council thus committed to serious entanglements—English help given to Carnatic aggressions on Tanjore, Ramnad and Sivaganga—Pigot's attempt to reform corruption fails—Rumbold provokes Nizam by occupying Guntur, and proposing discontinuance of tribute for Northern Circars—Hyder Ali also alienated : reasons—A general Peninsular Confederacy against the English at the same time revived Anglo-French conflict in India, in connection with American revolt and European coalition against England—The plans of the confederates—Hyder's sweeping invasion of the Carnatic—Munro and Baillie's failure—Hyder takes Arcot—Material and moral loss—Coote sent from Bengal to retrieve prestige—Bhonsla and Sindhia detached from the confederacy by diplomacy, Nizam by return of Guntur—Yet Hyder firm—Varying successes and defeats on either side—Porto Novo, Wandiwash, Polilur, Solingar, Negapatam, Trincomali, Tanjore, Madras, Cuddalore (and Trincomali), Arni—Death of Hyder and Coote—Tippu continues the war—Captures Mathews with his force—The French out of the War—English take Palghat and Coimbatore—Governor

Macartney negotiates peace of Mangalore—Terms Eight years' precarious existence of the English in India (1775—83)—Long wars affect finance, and lead to Hastings' questionable measures—Demands on Chait Singh—Antecedents and results—Criticism of Hastings' treatment of Chait Singh—More money from Oudh—Antecedents and results of the demands—Criticism of Hastings' dealings with the Begums of Oudh—Hastings at Benares—Returns to Calcutta, and resignation due to Pitt's Act—Hastings' impeachment and subsequent career—General estimate of Hastings.	103—118
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CHAPTER V—FALL OF THE LEADING NATIVE POWERS AND RISE OF THE NEW INDO-BRITISH POWER TO SUPREMACY (1786—1822) . . . . . 119—210

Political condition of India in 1786: The Indian powers seeking new outlets : dominant position of the Marathas: Madhaji Sindhia : Nana Phadnavis : Tipu : Nizam: Carnatic : Oudh : Shah Alam : Rajput : Sindh : Sikhs : Nepal : Burma :—Task before the Company : Sir John Macpherson Pitt's India Act against a forward policy: Contemporary European and American situation : a period of comparative inactivity : Pitt's India Act more often violated than followed. 119—122

*Section I—The Marathas and the English*

Position of the Marathas after the death of Madhava Rao : Wide extent of territory : No common ideal but centrifugal forces : Constitutional position of the Maratha Confederacy : The nominal Raja of Satara : Predominance of the Peshwa : Bhonsle : Gaekwad : Holkar : Sindhia : Minor piratical confederate chiefs—Outstanding personalities among the Marathas : Madhaji Sindhia : Nana Phadnavis : Ahalya Bai : Character and achievements of Ahalya Bai : Career of Madhaji Sindhia : Growth of his power after 1782 : Second push to the North : Shah Alam made the Peshwa the Vakil-i-Mutluq : Importance of Madhaji at the Delhi Court : The Nemesis of Sahu : Mughal Empire dependent on the Marathas : Flushed with victories Sindhia demanded tribute from the British province of Bengal : English negotiations with some other Maratha Powers : Rajput coalition against Madhaji: Rohilla opposition : Sindhia's recovery : Emperor made Peshwa as Vakil and Sindhia as his deputy hereditary : Meridian splendour of Sindhia : Attempt to establish his influence against Nana Phadnavis at Poona : Rupture between Madhaji and Nana : Death of Madhaji Sindhia : His object unfulfilled : Nana Phadnavis, the controlling factor in Maratha policy : Importance of the death of Madhaji : His character and achievements : Nana Phadnavis in Peninsular India : Collision with Tipu : Tipu's motives for making peace : Terms of the Treaty : Nana, the Nizam and the English made a combination against Tipu : It was against the Pitt's India Act : Grand Maratha combination against the Nizam : The Nizam defeated at Khardla : Terms of the treaty : English intervention not given : Arguments for and against : Growing decline of Peshwa's authority : Suicide of young Peshwa Madhu Rao Narayan : Intrigues in Peshwa's Court : Baji Rao II as the Peshwa, but Nana Phadnavis at

the head of administration : Daulat Rao Sindhia set up Chimaji Appa but Nana won : The Nizam regained the losses : Death of the Holkar and Sindhia's intrigues in the Holkar Court : Baji Rao II's attempt at freeing himself from Nana and the Sindhia : Followed by oppression and various intrigues : Sindhia's restoration of Nana as a check on the Peshwa for his Hyderabad alliance : Significance of Nana's death : Critical estimate of his character and achievements—Internal dissensions and confusion among the Marathas : British policy changed from non-intervention to conquest and expansion : Wellesley in charge : British dominion in India challenged on all sides : influence of European politics : Need of abandonment of non-intervention : Two-fold policy of Wellesley : Subsidiary Alliances : Company to be regarded as Sovereign in India : Subsidiary Alliance described : Wellesley's attempt to ally with Marathas against Tipu : Baji Rao's duplicity : Marathas anxious of Anglo-Hyderabad alliance : but mutual conflicts prevented any concerted action : Numerous intrigues among Maratha leaders : Holkar defeats the Peshwa and the Sindhia combined : His moderation : Peshwa seeks British protection : The Treaty of Bassein : Its significance not to be overestimated : denounced by the home government : Wellesley's vain hopes for peace : Effect on Maratha sentiments : Peshwa repentant : Sindhia and Bhonsle combined with Holkar : Holkar defeated : Gackwad neutral : Failure of English negotiations with Sindhia and Bhonsle : Second Anglo-Maratha conflict : Means of opposing the confederacy : Numerical inferiority of the British : Wellesley's policy of campaigns in the Deccan and in Hindustan : Subsidiary operations in Gujarat, Bundelkhand and Orissa : Sindhia's European officers not of any use : Western methods not yet mastered but depended upon : Maratha defeats in the Deccan : Assaye : Argaon : in Hindustan : Shah Alam under British protection : Laswaree : Maratha territorial losses : Berar Raja under the Treaty of Deogaon : The treaty of Surji Arjangaon with the Sindhia : Another treaty or a defensive alliance with the English : Reflections on the proceeding events—Maratha confederacy doomed : East India Company's territorial possessions expanded : Mughal Emperor under British protection : Increased influence on the Deccan Subedar and on the Peshwa : But the Nizam and the Peshwa did not emerge as greater powers as Wellesley stated : Opposed to the Parliamentary Act : Criticism of the home authorities—Resumption of hostilities with the Marathas : Holkar : Sindhia : Ups and downs : Anglo-Bharatpur Treaty : Recall of Wellesley : Its reasons. General criticism of Wellesley's Maratha policy : Divided opinions : (1) Wellesley's policy developed British dominion at the cost of increased public debt : Maratha power curbed greatly : Increase of British influence : Napoleon's idea of conquering England in India frustrated : Increase of his territories. Madras and Bengal possessions linked up : (2) Need of a vigorous policy in the contemporary situation—war of necessity. (3) Wellesley's hopes for peace false. But a great step to establishment of British supremacy—Holkar-Sindhia reapproachment : Lord Cornwallis (second time) changed the policy : Barlow in charge : Treaty with Sindhia : Now

pensioned off : Rajput states at the mercy of Sindhia : Holkar sues for peace ; declaratory articles annexed : The Company's faith subservient to convenience : Criticism of the policy of neutrality—Holkar's affairs gloomy and complex : Controlled by his mistress, supported by the Central Indian Pathans : Sindhia's affairs also unsatisfactory. Weakness and disorder in the Bhonsle's territories : The Raja of Berar helped by the English unasked : but no subsidiary alliance : Attitude of Baroda : the revived Maratha resistance : Causes : Baji Rao clung to British protection : His attempt to consolidate his power : His attitude to the southern gagirdars : British arbitration: Position of the Peshwa in 1814 : His attempts at creating a secret Maratha Confederacy. Attitude to the Nizam and the Gaekwad : Baji Rao tried to organise a Maratha confederacy and secure the help of the Pindaris and the Central Indian Pathans : Attitude of the English : The Treaty of Poona : Treaty with Baroda : Confused state of Nagpur after Raghujii Bhonsle II's death leading to subsidiary alliance with the English : Effects of the Treaty of Poona and the Treaty of Nagpur. The policy of neutrality given up by the Company. Hastings' policy of establishing British paramountcy. Wellesley's work expanded and completed : Treaty with Sindhia : Peshwa hostile but defeated : Nagpur and Holkar also rose but were defeated : Subsidiary alliance with Holkar : Fate of the Peshwa : Reasons for the abolition of the Peshwaship : Conflicting opinions regarding the restoration of the Raja of Satara : Fate of Appa Saheb of Nagpur : Growth of British influence and authority. Reflections on the failure of the Marathas to found a National Empire.

122—153

### *Section II—Final Decline of the Rajputs*

Rajput revival of early 18th century of shorter duration than the Maratha revival—dark period of Rajput history from middle of 18th century : (a) Decline of 'Rajput' virtues; (b) Internal strife ; (c) Maratha inroads and exploitation; (d) Pathan and Pindari plunders and domination—First political relations of Rajput States with East India Company, from 1803—Before Lord Hastings, East India Company too occupied with Mysore and Marathas to interfere in Rajputana effectively—Brief review of condition of some of the important Rajput States, from mid-18th century to first quarter of 19th century :—(a) Mewar : Holkar's invasion and exactions—Civil war draws Sindhia—Six districts made over to Sindhia, and tribute of four districts to Holkar—Annual raids of Marathas, checked by their defeat at Lalsot before Jaipur and Jodhpur forces (1787), who, however, are defeated by Madhaji and Ahalya Bai, thus restoring Maratha influence—Advised by Zalim Singh of Kotah, Mewar places itself under protection of Sindhia, being distracted by internal feuds—Madhaji Sindhia's agent Ambaji, for eight years lord of Mewar, exploiting it through subordinates, and dividing the country into two factions, pro-Maratha Saktawats and anti-Maratha Chandawats, the former also backed up by Zalim Singh of Kotah—Sindhia armies quartered in Mewar at its cost—The 'Trojan' tragedy of Princes Krishnakumari and the ruin of Mewar—Pathans and Pindaris pillage

the East India Company wanted to please the Marathas by compensating them (for loss of influence over Rajputana) by a share of those tributes.

*Section III—Mysore : Its Later History and Relations*

Mysore under Tipu a danger to the British in India—Tipu's activity and ambition—1785-87: Maratha-Mysore chieftainship in Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, ended with Maratha-Mysore peaceful settlement—Reason : Tipu anti-cipated war with English—Peace of 1784 a hollow truce, marking only the end of the First Act—Tipu tries to utilize Anglo-French hostility in Europe : Embassy to France, 1787—89, brought no active help owing to internal troubles of France—Embassy to Turkey, 1787, equally fruitless—Cornwallis' policy of alliance with other Indian powers as a counterpoise against Tipu and France in the next war—Cornwallis' reasons for disapproval of the policy of neutrality laid down by Pitt's India Act—The English caused provocation by the Gunjur settlement with Nizam and by omission of Tipu's name—Tipu caused provocation by aggression on Travancore, an ally to East India Company : Details of the Travancore affair—Cornwallis prepares for war : Utilises Maratha and Nizam's hostility towards Tipu, and negotiates alliances at Poona and Hyderabad—the French failed Tipu, but French danger was still guarded against by alliance with Dutch Government of Ceylon—Separate defensive and offensive treaties with Nizam and Marathas againt Tipu—Substantial assistance of Maratha and Nizam's forces—Two years' war, in three campaigns—In the first, allies lost time and Tipu gained reputation—So Cornwallis assumed direct command of operations in the second—His project of deposing Tipu, and restoring the old Hindu dynasty (calculated to weaken Tipu's position in Mysore and attach the stronger of the allies, the Marathas)—Tipu repulses Cornwallis and captures Colliatore—Cornwallis' second and more successful advance on Seringapatam—Treaty of Seringapatam, March 1792: Half of Mysore surrendered and partitioned between the allies: The new boundaries of the three powers—East India Company's gains strategically most important: Details of the advantages—Heavy indemnity and hostages—Cornwallis' stopping short of Tipu's destruction criticised by Munro, Thornton, etc.—Justification of Cornwallis' action : Sickness in army : France now free and able to help (1792): taking whole Mysore and sharing it with Marathas and Nizam would have inconvenienced strengthened these allies and disappearance of Mysore would have destroyed balance of power in the Peninsula—Results summarised by Cornwallis : Enemy crippled without making friends formidable—Tipu faithful to engagements, his fighting strength and resources—Resentment against English, and against the Hindu family the English wanted to restore—Tipu tries to gain allies by embassies to Arabia, Kabul and Turkey—French Republicans at Seringapatam, and Tipu's open Republican sympathies—Embassy to French

the land over and above Holkar and Sindhia—Settlement of rival claims, to lands, revenues and influence in Mewar, Khan's son-in-law Jamsheid, by the Conference of Dhanu Magra—Double bloodsucking for some years. (b) Marwar: Dark period since murder of Ajit Singh—Succession disputes led to invitation of Marathas who occupied Ajmere and other forts—Bijay Singh, ruler of Marwar, recovered his conquests and defeated Madhaji Sindhia, recovering his conquests, losing them again in four years to finally victorious Madhaji—Rebellions and feuds follow these losses—Man Singh's part in the Krishnakumari episode, leading to invasion by Jaipur—Maratha and Pathan invasions—Man Singh, with Amir Khan's help, saves Marwar from Jaipur and Marathas, but Amir Khan becomes the oppressive arbiter of Marwar (c) Jaisalmer—(d) Amber: Decline after Sawai Jai Singh, (d. 1743)—Holkar interferences in succession dispute—Madhu Singh tries to check Marathas, but Jai Singh in another front weakened him—Tukoji Holkar's invasion, and exaction of annual tribute: Later passed on to Amir Khan—Daulat Rao Sindhia and his French generals devastate Jaipur—Jagat Singh's part in Krishnakumari episode—(c) Kotah: Zaim Singh, the diplomat, saved his state from Marathas and Pathans—Rajputana in anarchy and disorder on the eve of Lord Hastings' arrival—He revives Akbar's policy of building up and strengthening the Empire by bringing Raj-put States under control—Strategic, military, political and commercial advantages expected—1814: East India Company decides that Jaipur should be brought under protection—Favourable opportunity in 1817—Metcalfe's negotiations—General terms of the settlement with Rajput states: (a) Tri-butes paid to Maratha or Pathan powers to be paid to East India Company who will settle with them: (b) external relations to be surrendered; (c) East India Company's protection of internal sovereignty—first Rajput Treaty of subordinate alliance (i) with Karauli (dependency of Peshwa); (ii) with Kotah (first to make it among independent Rajput states), December 1817: Zaim Singh and heirs become hereditary ministers, leading to future trouble owing to this violation of internal sovereignty:—(iii) with Jodhpur, January 1818:—(iv) with Udaipur, January 1818:—(v) with Bundi, February 1818:—(vi) with Kisanganagar and Bikaner, March 1818:—(vii) last of the major states, Jaipur, after two years' negotiations, April 1818:—(viii) Minor Rajput states,—Pratapgarh, Banswara, Dungarpur,—between October and December 1818—Jaisalmer, December 1818; Sirohi, 1823—Settlement of Rajputana within the British sphere an important step in growth of the Empire—Criticism of Hastings' "Rajput Policy": Though not hostile, the Rajput states were reduced to the position of hostile and conquered states—Rajput jealousies and dissensions and their helplessness before aggressors, are put forward as grounds for this subordination—But 'friendly co-operation' would have been as good a remedy as 'subordinate alliance'—Aim of East India Company was political and strategic expediency, besides 'good' of the Rajputs—Criticism of the continuance of tributes—Three justifications (Prinsep)—but apart from them,

governor at Mauritius, and the latter's open declaration of alliance against the English—French volunteers arrive at Mangalore—Wellesley's interpretation of these events and Franco-Mysore intrigues as a declaration of war, and so he prepared to attack Tipu—Accordingly he sought to revive the alliance with Nizam and Marathas : the former and the weaker entered into Subsidiary Alliance (September 1798) and disbanded French-trained troops—while the latter had to be won over by promise of equal share in conquests Ten months' futile correspondence and negotiations between Wellesley and Tipu—Two English armies began the war from February 1799—Tipu's defeat at Sedaseer and Malvelley—Siege and storming of Seringapatam : Tipu's death and fall of Mysore after thirty-three years' militant career—Tipu's character and abilities : Sharply divided views : Adverse opinion of Kirkpatrick—of Wilks and Rennell—Favourable opinion of Moore and Diron—of Mill—Critical examination of basic facts—Evidence of his efficient and enlightened administration, making for general prosperity and contentment in the country—Corroboration by Sir John Shore and Buckanan's Journal—Mill's correct estimate of Tipu's merit and failings—Lacked Haider Ali's political sagacity and shrewd common sense—Tipu as a soldier and general—is private life praise worthy—His religious mind—Good education—In touch with outside world The question of Tipu's barbarous cruelties and bigoted intolerance of Non-Muslims—Tipu's Shringeri letters show him anxious to placate Hindu opinion—Conversion only of refractory Hindu subjects—Grants to Hindu temples—Hindu officers—But Hindu discontent indicated by British plan of restoring the Hindu dynasty—The Second Partition of Mysore—Cessions to Nizam—Conditional offer of territories to Peshwa refused—An astute British move—British gains—Residuum of Mysore restored to Hindu dynasty under severely restricting conditions—details of these conditions—Substantially it became a British possession—Thornton, Wellesley and Mill's estimates of the expediency of this restoration—Marathas balked of their expected share by conditional offer, and Nizam prevented from becoming powerful by creation of the new Mysore state—fall of Mysore a great relief to East India Company—Territorial gains from the two partitions of Mysore extremely valuable for East India Company from all points of view—The greatest British success since Clive—Hutton's, Wellington's and Wellesley's own estimates of the result—Great satisfaction in England.

158—168

#### *Section IV—The Nizam of Hyderabad*

The Nizam's political position in the Deccan in the 18th century—Weakened by Marathas and Mysore, leaned towards East India Company, remaining formally true to British alliance, except on one occasion—The Guntur cession, after six years' negotiations (1788)—By way of compensation for surrender of Guntur, Nizam negotiates for a defensive alliance with East India Company—Owing to family pride negotiations for a Nizam-Tipu alliance failed—Cornwallis' difficulty in deciding to assist Nizam in recovering his former districts from Tipu, owing to the conflicting nature of the treaties

of 1768, 69 and 85, and Clause 34 of Pitt's India Act—Cornwallis decides to help Nizam, being anxious to range Nizam and Marathas against Tipu—His interpretation of Clause 34 of India Act, and of Article 6 of the Treaty of 1768, to meet the situation—Tipu's name deliberately left out in the list of East India Company's allies and friends in Cornwallis' letter to Nizam of 7th July, 1789, which was declared binding as a treaty—Criticism of these steps of Cornwallis :—by Sir John Malcolm : Spirit of Parliamentary Act violated—More provocative of war with Tipu than an open defensive alliance with his enemies; of Mill. breach of faith; of Forrest : no breach of faith, since Parliament was sure to approve; and Tipu had already shown hostility—The truth is that Cornwallis was trying all kinds of means to safeguard British interests in the event of a very likely war with Tipu—Nizam gained by the Triple Alliance in 1790—but lost the battle of Khardla, 1795, owing to Shore's non-intervention—Resentment at British indifference, when Wellesley arrived, expressed in an anti-British, pro-French and pro-Tipu court party and officering of troops by French Republicans—but the alliance was saved by British help to Nizam against the rebel prince Ali Jah in 1797—Also growing French influence at court roused Nizam's apprehensions—Mir Alam, his minister was pro-British—Hence subsidiary treaty with East India Company, September 1798; its provisions included ousting of French influence, and promise of protection against Marathas—Nizam's help to East India Company against Tipu—After partition of Mysore East India Company followed a policy of gradually taking the Nizam under the controlling protection of the British Government, ostensibly to prevent Hyderabad from falling under Maratha influence (as it did after Kharda 1795)—This led to extension of the basis of the treaty of September 1798 by the treaty of October 1800,—whereby the subsidiary forces were increased, territories acquired by the two Mysore Partitions were ceded, external relations of Nizam were abolished, and his internal sovereignty was secured—Great gain to the British—The Nizam safe against rivals, but not against disorders in his own state—The government of the Nizam now became inefficient—Wellington's description of the disintegration of the Nizam's state—The contrast of this picture with that of Mysore under Tipu—The decay natural in the transition period: Other parts of India also, owing to divided and undefined responsibility—Anglo-Nizam commercial treaty of 1802—Sikandar Jah, succeeding Nizam Ali, 1803, retained forms of Delhi suzerainty, but confirmed treaties with East India Company at the same time—The Second Maratha War gave the Nizam some Deccan districts from the Sindhia and the Bhonsle, 1804—After the pro-British minister Mir Alam's death, the East India Company agreed to Nizam's choice of Munir-ul-Mulk, but insisted on Mir Alam's deputy Chandulal's being the practical administrator of the state, whereupon the Nizam retired from state affairs—The Resident Russell's attempts to reform government failed, 1810—20—Metcalf, Resident in 1820, found Hyderabad in great anarchy, due to disbanded soldiers and robbers, and in great financial difficulties, owing to corruption of officers

and the unscrupulous banking activities of William Palmer and Col—Lord Hastings opposed to Metcalfe's civil government reforms, though he wanted to set the Hyderabad army administration in order—The situation was that the state had lost all natural incentive for progress and reform,—while the protecting power was still busy with empire-building schemes and had no inclination to reform the protected state—Even reform in the British Indian provinces began later on, from Bentinck—New treaty of 1822, freeing Nizam from arrears of Maratha tributes and giving him certain districts.

168—172

*Section V—The Carnatic, Tanjore and Surat*

Carnatic a scene of corruptions from mid-18th century—Muhammad Ali's post-Arcotic career—Absentee, borrowing and squandering Nawab, assigning revenues to creditors—Burke's description of the Carnatic scandal—Wellington's remarks—The part played by Madras government and British subjects in the affair—Dundas, Fox and Pitt's India Bills all had to consider solutions of the Arcot debts—But Board of Control wanted to solve the problem in its own way—Thornton's remarks on the directions of the Board of Control—Burke's denunciation of it—Its effect on East India Company's administrative system—Further stages in the history of the Carnatic debts—Arrangement of December 1781—Modification of it between 1782—86—Fresh treaty of 1787—With outbreak of war with Tipu, Cornwallis brought the Carnatic Nawabship under direct management for the sake of safety of Madras and the Carnatic—Treaty of July 1792: A new settlement of the debts, and making the Carnatic a complete non-sovereign dependency of East India Company, which was to have full military revenue and foreign affairs control of the state—Muhammad Ali's death. October 1795—his successors, Omdut-ul-Omra refuses to cede districts for arrear dues—Wellesley, by alleged sophistical dealing, brings, the shadow Nawab's administration to an end—Details: Charge of the Nawab's having had treasonable correspondence with Mysore; Omdut-ul-Omra's death in July 1801 frustrates Wellesley's plan of annexation; The successor, Ali Hussain, was now asked to surrender the government and retire on pension; Robert's remarks on this step: Ali Hussain refused, and demanded evidence for charge of treason; Wellesley then negotiated with another prince of the family, Azim-ud-dowlah, who made over the entire government of Carnatic on being recognised as Nawab with a pension, to the great gain of the East India Company's resources, while the old debt affair ended—Wellesley's justification and estimate of this step: Most salutary and useful, since the Dewani—Approved in England—Owen supports—Mill is more judicious, and has some severe criticism of the methods employed—The charge not proved—This is admitted by Wilson and Torren—Carnatic affairs were certainly corrupt, but a plainer course of action was possible—Robert's view of what Wellesley should have done—Cambridge History sees political justice and wisdom in Wellesley's Carnatic policy—But Wilson holds strong views on this matter.

Tanjore and Surat principalities also taken over by the East India Company and their rulers pensioned off, about the same time as Carnatic—Details in Tanjore : Two claimants after Tulaji, Amar Singh and Serfoji; latter under missionary influence; subsequently recognised as Raja after Amar Singh's failure to rule; Serfoji becomes a pensioner in October 1799, making over his kingdom—Details in Surat: East India Company from 1759 managing the defence, the civil government being with the Nawab, Surat revenues insufficient to pay for defence; repeated pressure on Nawab to get more money for payment of defence, and also for a new condition of establishing a judicature at Surat; the Resident satisfied about inability to pay more than one lac annully; Wellesley's high-handed assumption of the Surat government, March 1800—Severe criticism of this step by Mill and Beveridge.

172—176

*Section VI—The Fate of Oudh*

Oudh, full of administrative abuses not removed by Macpherson's Government—Strategic importance of Oudh for the Company—Arrangements between Cornwallis and the Oudh ministers—Cornwallis did not withdraw the English troops : Reasons thereof: Shore's intervention in succession questions : Shore as the Nawab-maker : The treaty : Abuses not reformed : Wellesley's policy towards faithful and Wellesley's clumsy pretext : The Nawab had to abdicate : Wellesley utilised the event for his imperial policy : Abdication withdrawn : Nawab's appeal to former treaties rejected by Wellesley : He was forced to cede part of Oudh to the Company practically under British control : Its advantages to the English : Criticism of Wellesley's Oudh policy.

177—179

*Section VII—Last Days of Emperor Shah Alam II and the British Capture of Delhi*

Last days of Shah Alam bitter : A nominal head : Obeyed by none, practically speaking : Death of Najab Khan : Rebellion of other nobles : No help from the Calcutta Council : Shah Alam thrown into the Maratha camp for support : But not protect from troubles : Rohilla occupation of Delhi : Ignominies imposed on Shah Alam : Sindhia's recovery of Delhi : Reasons of English betrayal : Wellesley realised the importance of seizing the person of Shah Alam : Virtual passing of Shah Alam's sovereignty to the Company : Death in 1806: Final extinction of Mughal Raj under Hastings.

180—183

*Section VIII—The Himalayan Frontier : the Gurkhas*

Nepal came under British influence during Hastings' time : Early history of the Mallas : Circumstances leading to the Gurkha conquest of Nepal : Failure of expeditions sent by Mir Casim and the English : Commercial treaty of Nepal with the English : Damodar Pande's usurpation : Second commercial treaty with the English : Changes in succession in Nepalese royal family : Gurkha dominions at the time of Hastings : Gurkha inroads into the border districts and conquests : Causes of Anglo-Gurkha conflict : Course

of the conflict : The English attempts at corrupting the Nepalese : Causes of the failure of the British operations : Renewal of attacks : Causes of the final success of the English : Exorbitant demand of Hastings : Resumption of hostilities by the Gurkhas : Treaty of Sagauli ratified : Criticism of the event.	183—187
---	---------

*Section IX—Pacification of Central India : Pindaris, Pathans and Other Minor States*

The Pindaris and their antiquity : Their relations with the Maratha states : Description of their methods and aims : Extension of raids under their leaders : Attitude of Hastings and the Court of Directors : Preliminaries to suppression : Policy and course of suppression : The Pindaris driven out : Fate of Karim Khan and of Chitu :

The Pindaris and their antiquity. Their relations with the Pindaris : Their activities in Rajputana : Amir Khan collides and comes to terms with the British : Policy of the British :

Establishment of British supremacy over Bhopal, Malwa, Dhar, Dewar, Rewa, Orcha, Jhansi, Kutch and other minor states : Policy of the British Summary.

188—193

*Section X—The Last Test of the New British Supremacy : The Movement of 1857—59*

The Movement of 1857—59, the last test of growing British supremacy in India—Its causes deeply rooted in the past—political causes, Dalhousie's policy of annexation, lapse and escheat, Psychological effect, on the Marathas and the Muslims—Social and Economic grievances among the members of Indian aristocracy due to rapid expansion of the British Empire and growing strength of the British Indian administration—Acute grievances in Oudh—Social and Religious causes, spread of Western civilisation, introduction of railways, construction of telegraphs, expansion of English education, abolition of Sati and infanticide, legalization of widow-remarriage, and aggressive spirit of the Christian missionaries of that time perturbed conservative elements of Indian society—Military causes, discontent and early mutinies of the Sepoy Army, the morale of the army deteriorated since the Afghan War High-caste soldiers not easily amenable to levelling army discipline—Disproportion between the numbers of British soldiers and native troops—Defective distribution of troops—General Service Enlistment Act of Canning and its effects—Gospel of revolt preached secretly by Nana Saheb, the Begum of Oudh, the Rani of Jhansi and Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur—The blunder of the Enfield Rifle precipitated the crisis—First symptoms of outbreak at Barrackpore, and Barhampore—Outbreaks at Ambala and Meerut—Inefficiency of General Hewitt—the mutineer's march to Delhi—Bahadur Shah proclaimed the real Emperor of Delhi—Sir John Lawrence's defensive measures in the Punjab; the Revolt widely spread throughout the Upper Gangetic provinces and in Central India—No outbreak south of the Narmada; the Bombay Presidency quiet but sympathy with Nana Saheb in the Maratha country and a clear mutiny at

Kolhapur—Loyalty of the Indian chiefs, the Sindhia, Sir Dinkar Rao, Sir Salar Jang, etc.—Constituent elements of the Mutiny—Troops in different parts of India affected—The Bihar outbreak at and near Arrah—Suppression of the Mutiny at Benares by Colonel Neil—The Allahabad fort saved by Captain Brasyer—Activities of Nana Saheb and Tantia Topi at Cawnpore, massacre of the English prisoners at Bibigarh—Colonel Campbell relieved Cawnpore—Lucknow outbreak—Death of Lawrence and Neil—Outram and Havelock gave some relief to the besieged garrison at Lucknow, final relief effected by Sir Collin Campbell in spite of the opposition of the Oudh Talukdars incensed by Canning's proclamation of March, 1856—Recovery of Delhi, a story of selfless devotion of the British officers and troops; the whole city together with the person of the 'Mughal Emperor' fell into British hands, he was deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862, his sons and grandsons butchered by Hodson, Hodson's conduct criticised by Hope Grant and Malleeson—Suppression of the movement in Central India and Bundelkhand by Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Collin Campbell and Sir Hugh Rose; the Rani of Jhansi fell fighting bravely, Tantia Topi hunted from place to place, betrayed into English hands by a feudatory of the Sindhia and executed on charges of rebellion and murder—Canning's proclamation of peace on 8th July, 1859, and gradual restoration of normal order—outcry among the British people for a 'policy of revenge'—Canning's cool judgment and mild policy—Legacy of mutual hostility never completely effected : Link between the movement, and Indian extremism—Nature of the movement, a military or a nation revolt—Opposite views of Lawrence and Outram—In Robert's views 'mainly military', but taken advantage of by other discontented elements : Holmes holds much the same view—Causes of the failure of the movement; military, weaker equipments of the sepoys, better control of communications by the English an advantage, superior generalship of the English,—Immediate results of the movement—End of East India Company's rule—Government of India Act, 2nd August, 1858—Assumption of sovereignty by the Crown, a formal change—The Queen's Proclamation of November 1, 1858, an important document in the history of Modern India—Its text.	193—210
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CHAPTER VI.—CLASH WITH EASTERN AND WESTERN NATIVE POWER : COMPLETION OF INDO-BRITISH TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND GROWTH OF AN INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY (FROM 1824).	211—306
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*Introductory*

State of British supremacy by 1823 : Peace not realised with 1823 : Factors influencing British Indian Foreign Policy after 1823, as compared with those before.	211—212
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*Section I—The Sikh Wars and British Annexation of the Punjab*

The Sikhs and the Afghans about the sixties of the 18th century : The Sikh fraternities : The Sikhs organised by Ranjit Singh : His early career : Political condition of the

Punjab about Ranjit's time : Gradual increase in Ranjit's powers : But no help given to Holkar against the English : Chances of Hindu combination lost. Ranjit free from English interference : His policy—formation of a Sikh Commonwealth : Extension of Sikh influence east of the Sutlej : Interferes in Cis-Sutlej states owing to quarrel between Nabha and Patiala chief—Attitude of the English : The French menace the decisive factor : English mission to Ranjit for alliance : Ranjit in return demanded acknowledgment of sovereignty over all the Sikhs. But French menace proved imaginary : Ranjit's evasion : Impending rupture with the English and apprehension of jealousy of some Punjab chiefs compelled Ranjit to make a treaty with the English : Terms of the Anglo-Sikh treaty at Amritsar : Effect on the Company's position : Effect on Ranjit's power. Ranjit diverted from the South to the North, the north-west and the west : Clash with the Afghans : Growing conquests of Ranjit : Kashmir, Multan, Peshawar acquired by 1824; Synchronous with the British supremacy in Gangetic regions : Attitude of the English : Bentinck's interview and renewal of treaty alliance : Sikh advance to Sindh checked by the English : Death of Ranjit : Influence of his career : His personality. His civil administration and military system : State of the Sikh power after Ranjit's death : The court intrigues : Dalip Singh King : The army the virtual ruler : effects thereof : The incapable members of the Lahore Darbar jealous of the army and wanted that it should embroil with the English; Key to the First Sikh War : Other reasons of rupture with the English—Operations of the war : Sikh advance : Unpreparedness of the British : Hardinge's declaration of war and of annexation of Dalip Singh's possessions; Battle of Mundi : Treachery of Lal Singh : Price for English victory : English march against the Sikh entrenchments of Firoze Shah : English helped by treachery of the Sikh generals : Losses on both sides : Governor-General's proclamation to the servants of the Lahore Government to forsake service and to report to the British authorities—Inactivity of the English : Sikh advance to Ludhiana and British defeat at Buddewal. Sikhs defeated at Aliwal : The contested and decisive battle of Sohraon : The determinations of the Sikh soldiers neutralised by the treachery or inactivity of the Sikh commanders : The casualties of the war : Terms of the treaty of Lahore : Cession of the Beas-Sutlej Doab to the Company and the Beas-Indus region (including Kashmir) as indemnity : Lahore army reduced : The English to control the Beas and the Sutlej : British troops to be given free passes through Lahore territories ; Criticism of the Lahore Treaty : Dalip Singh recognised as Maharaja with Jhinda as regent : and British force to be maintained till 1846. Reasons for altering the Treaty of Lahore. The British became the real masters of the Punjab : Administrative changes : The new arrangements to continue during minority of Dalip : Reasons for this arrangement : Permanent annexations needed a large force : Subsidiary alliance likely to cause future complications : Elements of impermanence in it. Sikhs not subdued in spirit : Removal of Jhinda from Lahore increased bitterness : Inevitability of a Second Sikh War : Multan, a storm centre in the Punjab : Mulraj, Governor of Multan,

gave up his charge owing to failure to pay the contractual sum and was replaced by Sardar Khan Singh Man : Murder of two British officers : and revolt of Mulraj, a challenge to British authority : Correspondence between the Resident and the Commander-in-Chief : Reasons for the latter's policy to delay action : Premature siege of Multan : Revolt of Mulraj developed into a Sikh national rising : Afghans won over by surrender of Peshawar : Dalhousie determined on war : Battle of Chilianwala : The last great attempt of Sikh army to recover independence : Multan stormed : Napier superseded Gough as Commander-in-Chief : Gravity of the situation : Sikhs and Afghans combined against the British : decisive 'battle of the Afghans' at Gujarat : Sikh disarmed : Afghans driven : Mulraj imprisoned for life : Effects of the Sikh defeat : The Punjab annexed : Arguments against and for annexation : Alternative inconvenient : Annexation most advantageous policy : Dalip Singh pensioned off to England and could not regain authority on return : Fate of the Kohinoor : Criticism of the Annexation : Dalip suffered for others : English influence safe : but natural frontier not really reached :—Settlement of the Punjab : Administrative changes : Military and police arrangements : Economic changes : Transports : Chief Commissioner, assisted by Judicial and Financial Commissioners : Punjab chief's services during Mutiny : Lieutenant-Governorships instituted : History of the Punjab 1857—67 : Abolition of Judicial Commissioner-ship and establishment of a Chief Court.

212—232

*Section II—Annexation of Sindh*

Condition of Sindh in latter part of the 18th century : Three branches of ruling family : Theoretically under Afghanistan : Treaty with the British (1809) to exclude the French : Renewed (1820) : Importance of control of Sindh to the British, Ranjit's idea of partitioning Sindh disliked by Bentinck : Treaty between the Amir of Hyderabad and the English (1832) : Ranjit's idea of annexing Sindh opposed by the English : Price paid by Sindh to escape from Sikh ambition : Treaty between Auckland and the Amirs of Sindh : Treatment of Sindh morally indefensible : Treaty of 1832 violated by the English to control the Indus : Sindh's position in the Treaty between Shah Shuja, the English and Ranjit, 1838. Price paid by Sindh to the English : Humiliation of the Sindh Chiefs : The treaty of 1839 imposed on them : Sindh formally placed under British protection : Further modification of it by Auckland : Sindh faithful during Afghan War and used as a base of operations, but wrongly charged with hostility—Napier's questionable policy in Sindh : real objects in deciding the Khairpur succession dispute : Amirs had to cede important territories and give up right of coinage : and became dependents : Further provocations of Napier in parcelling Sindh : Destruction of the fortress of Imamgarh : Outram's influence : Results of Napier's aggressive policy : Beluchis defeated : English victories : Annexation of Sindh : Outram's criticism of Napier's policy : Napier, first governor—Criticism of Ellenborough's and Napier's policy in Sindh—by the Court of Directors but Sindh not restored : Purely aggressive and in-

British withdrawal, the best policy, advocated by the Court of Directors : Opposed by Auckland : a half-way course, resulting in various outbreaks, in Kabul; division of opinion among the English : Afghan victory : Auckland disconcerted: Humiliating treaty of the English for evacuation and restoration of Dost Muhammad : Murder of the British envoy : Retreat from Kabul : Auckland's attempt to 'paper over the cracks' : Responsibility for the disasters,—Ellenborough's policy : Safety of the detached bodies : Security of the British troops : Restoration of military prestige : Orders for evacuating Kabul and Kandahar : Improvement in Afghan situation : Murder of Shah Shuja : Ellenborough's double-edged policy : Victories of the avenging army : Ellenborough's proclamations criticised : Criticism of the policy of Afghan War : Real object not secured—No friendly power in Afghanistan : Relations between restored Dost Muhammad and the British : Persian eagerness to expand eastwards : Anglo-Afghan treaty :—Lawrence's policy of friendship but non-interference in domestic affairs : First emergence of Abdur Rahman : Assenting to accomplished facts in Afghanistan : Criticism of the policy of Masterly Inactivity : Grounds of defence : And of attack : Russian push to North Afghan frontier : Motives thereof : Menace to British Indian government : Attitude of Lawrence to Russian menace : Utopian Unpolitical :—Mayo's Afghan policy, a continuation of Lawrence's : Conference with Amir Shah Ali : His views : British Government not favourable : Non-Committal British policy : Russian question during Mayo's viceroyalty : Discussions for a neutral zone : Russian ambitions not checked definitely : The Amir alarmed and tried to have a British guarantee against Russian attack : Northbrooke's conditional offer : Not supported by the Home government : The disappointed Afghan Amir turned to Russia : Causes of Anglo-Afghan hostility : British indifference : Arbitration in Perso-Afghan boundaries in Seistan : No recognition to Sher Ali's son as heir-apparent : The Amir more and more under Russian influence : Ambiguous Russian conduct : (English) demanded of suspension of Russo-Afghan correspondence : Resented by Russia : Disraeli's influence : British government not well informed by Kabul Agent : Home government's pan of a British agent, disliked by the Viceroy, who resigned—Lytton's Afghan policy inspired from home : Help to the Amir against foreign attacks promised : Refusal of Sher Ali, regarded as contempt by the English : Abortive Anglo-Afghan negotiations : Responsibility thereof : European affairs : Points in favour of the Amir : The English tried to get a position of advantage : Occupation of Quetta : Policy of gradual disintegration of Afghan power : Influence of European events : Anglo-Russian antagonism : in the Near East and question of the way to the Middle East and the Far East : The treaty of San Stefano : The Berlin Congress diverted Russian interests to Asia in Afghanistan : Russian Mission to Kabul : Sher Ali defied the proposals of the Indian Government : Lytton's insistence on a British mission at Kabul : Reply postponed by the Amir : Criticism of Lytton's policy : Lytton's policy of forcing the Amir to change his : Lytton

in inopportune haste : The ultimatum of the English Cabinet unrequited by the Amir: Sher Ali, duped by Russia : Operations of the Afghan War: Occupation of Kandahar : Treaty of Gandamak between the English and son of Sher Ali, deceased : British gains, and effects of the treaty : Scientific frontier not achieved : Murder of the British agent : Measures of retribution by the English : sudden turn in events by appearance of Abdur Rahman : About to be acknowledged by Lytton :—Change of government in England : Ripon as, Viceroy of India : His Afghan policy, continuation of Lytton's : Abdur Rahman recognised but England got control of Afghan foreign relations : Ayub Khan, son of Sher Ali, a rival: but Abdur Rahman was finally established : Plan of partitioning Afghanistan given up:—Reflections of the Second Afghan War : Aggression, to check Russia : Not wholly unnecessary : Not totally fruitless : Effect on Russian ambitions. Russian occupation of Merv : Delimitation of Russo-Afghan boundaries but peaceful settlement delayed : Panjdeh incident : War prevented by the tact of Dufferin, the diplomacy of the Home government, and good sense of the Amir; Fall of Gladstone government : Settlement of the Boundary question : But disputes revived after six years : Anglo-Russian Convention : Expansion of Russian railway policy : Anglo-Russian settlement prevented : Proposal of allowing direct Russo-Afghan correspondence finally dropped : Terms of the Anglo-Russian convention : Minto's lack of faith in it, guided by Asiatic interests : Morley's idea based on European conditions. Effect on Pan-Islamism :—Murder of reforming Habibullah : Third Afghan War under Amanullah, ended by the Treaty of Rawalpindi confirmed : Afghanistan free from British control in external affairs : Establishment of friendly relations between Amanullah and the British Government : Anglo-Afghan Trade convention :—A new era of internal development in Afghanistan : Civil War in Afghanistan owing to Amanullah's hasty reforms : Bachai-Saquao : Nadir Shah as king and re-establishment of Indo-Afghan relations; murder of Nadir. 245—281

*Section V—British India's Relations with Persia, Tibet, and Bhutan*

(A) *Persia*.—Perlis from beyond the Indus—Wellesley's attention towards these—Mehdi Ali Khan on a mission to the Shah of Persia : danger of French intrigues in interior Asia or Russian advance through it, Malcolm sent on a mission to the court of Persia by the British Government.—Malcolm's mission partly political and partly commercial.—Its success—owen's remark : Malcolm's commercial and political treaty with Haji Ibrahim, the Shah's Wazir on 28th January, 1801—Commercial privileges for the Indian and English merchants—The political treaty intended to put pressure on the Afghans and to check the spread of French influence. Indifference in Calcutta after the treaties—Consequent chances of Russian advance and growth of French influence in Teheran but the whole situation changed by the Convention of Tilsit, 1807; earnestness of the British Governments in London and Calcutta to check the designs of

Napoleon in the East; second mission of Malcolm—a failure, mission of Sir Harford Jones sent to the court of Persia by the British Cabinet—Its good luck—Offensive and defensive treaty arranged between him and the Shah of Persia—The projected invasion of Karrack disowned : Malcolm's third mission costly but not wholly fruitless—Excellent literary productions, Malcom's *History of Persia*, *Pottinger's Travels in Beluchistan*, Kinner's *Geographical Memoir*—A definite treaty, specially declared to be defensive, between England and Persia signed on 24th November, 1814—Terms of the treaty. Renewal of Russo-Persian hostilities in 1826—British help solicited by Persia but denied to her—Defeat of Persia and the humiliating treaty of Turkomanchi, 1828—Decline of English influence and the predominance of Russia at the Persian court; Persia goaded by Russia during 1832—57—Consequent Persian expeditions to Khiva, Khorsan—Several sieges of Herat and its actual occupation by Persia in 1856—Her attempt to advance further into Afghanistan : game of quiet intimidation played by Russia through Persia—Attempts of the Government of India to baffle it—Peace with Russia concluded in 1857—Improvement of Anglo-Persian relations; England's influence in the Persian Gulf deemed necessary for her Eastern supremacy—Jealousy of France, Russia, Germany and also Turkey—Their challenge to England—French and Russian attempts to obtain a coaling station near the Gulf and German attempt to obtain a terminus for the Berlin-Baghdad Railway at Koweit harbour baffled by England—Open formulation of claims by England, Lord Lansdowne's declaration of May 5, 1903; Lord Curzon's Persian policy—His visit to the Gulf in 1903 and other strong measures; internal disorders and troubles in Persia from 1903—1910; Anglo-Russian Convention of August, 1907—Integrity and political independence of Persia to be respected—Her division into three spheres of influence—Defects of the Convention—Offence given to the Persians by not being consulted about the new arrangement; miserable plight of Persia on the eve of and during the Great War; Collapse of Russian influence in Persia since 1917—Exposal of the frontiers of British India to the European enemies of England—Situation improved after the Anglo-Persian Convention of August 1919—Rejection of this agreement by Persia in 1921—Growth of national renaissance in Turkey, Afghanistan and Persia.

(B) *Tibet*.—Tibet nominally subject China but in reality an independent theocracy—Dalai Lama the chief authority—Premature death of the Dalai Lama's left all powers with the Councils of Regency : The East India Company's relations with Tibet became gradually unsatisfactory—Tibetan invasion of Sikkim in 1887—Its expulsion by General Graham; Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890—Appointment of joint commissioners—Arrangements effected by them—Establishment of a trade mart at Fatung—The Tibetans indifferent to the arrangements; British relations with Tibet at an absolute deadlock at the time of Curzon's arrival; emergence of two new factors—(1) Desire of the Chinese to throw off Manchu domination—(2) Maturity of a Dalai Lama after many years, influence of his tutor Dorjieff

and the fall of the Regency Government; Dorjief's missions to Russia—Rumours of a Russo-Chinese secret treaty—British suspicion about the political motives of those outwardly religious missions—The Grand Lama suspected of leanings towards Russia; Lord Curzon's plans—Mission of Younghusband, August, 1904—Conclusion of an Anglo-Tibetan treaty—Recognition of China's suzerainty over Tibet—Criticism of Younghusband's mission—S. C. Das in Tibet long before Younghusband :—Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907—Mutual agreement between England and Russia : Growth of British trade relations with and influence in Tibet during recent years.

(C) *Bhutan*.—Beginning of British relations since 1772—Warren Hastings and the mission of Bogle to Lhasa for opening up commercial relations—no tangible effect—Similar fate of Turner's mission in 1783; British acquisition of Assam—Closer contact with the Bhutanes—Their depredations into the Duars ; several unsuccessful negotiations—Mission under Ashley Eden (1863–64) insulated by the Bhutanes—Beginning of Anglo-Bhutanese war—Initial reverses of the English—Peace concluded in November 1865—Cordial relations with Bhutan since then.

281–291

*Section VI—The Eastern Frontier : Conquest of Burma and Assam*

Importance of the North-Eastern Frontier; eastern boundary of Bengal 'ill-defined and variable' for a long time—Supremacy of a Tibeto-Chinese race over Arakan, Pegu, Tenasserim and the whole basin of the Irrawaddy and the rise of the kingdom of Burma during the latter half of the 18th century—Conquest of Pegu by Alampora, 1750 A.D.—Burmese expansion in all directions under his successors, over Arakan in 1784, Upper and Lower Burma by 1793, over Manipur in 1813; beginning of English political intercourse with Burma—Early missions of the British Indian Government to Burma proved unsuccessful—Burmese advance on the Chittagong frontier and conquest of Assam made ultimate collision with the English inevitable—Burmese claims over Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad, and Cassimbazar not recognised by the British Indian Government—Burmese occupation of the Shahpuri island in September 1823 and their inroads into British territories; the First Anglo-Burmese War—The physical features of Burma a point of defence for the Burmese—British plan of war, operations to be mainly defensive but the main blow to be struck through an expedition by sea to Rangoon—Help from the Madras Presidency—Occupation of Rangoon by Archibald Campbell on 11th May, 1824—Sufferings of the British troops due to rains and want of provisions; invasion of Bengal by Bandula, the famous Burmese general—His recall by the Burmese government after the British occupation of Rangoon—Signal defeat of the Burmese on 15th December, 1824—Advance of Campbell towards Prome—Bravery of Bandula and his death—British occupation of Prome on 25th April, 1825; Opening of negotiations in the month of August—A temporary armistice and a conference at Nyaungbengzaik—Failure of negotiations and the renewal of hostilities—defeat of the Burmese on 19th,

1826, and British march towards the Burmese capital. Treaty of Yandaboo, 25th February, 1826—British terms accepted by the King of Ava—Admission of a British Resident at the Burmese capital in 1830—Criticism of the First Burmese War—Defective military preparations and arrangements—Qualities of the Burmese soldiers—King Hpagyidoo deposed and imprisoned by his brother Tharrawaddy in May 1837—The latter not amenable to the spirit of the treaty of 1826—Withdrawal of British Residents from Burma—Complaints of the British merchants at the coast of Burma against the oppressions of the Governor of Rangoon and their appeal to the Governor-General—Commodore Lambert sent by Lord Dalhousie to enquire into the complaints of the merchants and to demand compensation from the King of Burma—Courteous reply of the latter—Recall of the old Governor of Rangoon but the new one did not receive the British deputation favourably—consequent indignation of the British officers; Dalhousie's ultimatum to the Burmese government—His preparations for another war, plan to begin operations before the rains—Better arrangements than before—Service of the Sikh soldiers secured—Dalhousie's ultimatum remained unresponded—Beginning of Second Anglo-Burmese War—British march to Rangoon—Occupation of Martaban, storming of the Great Pagoda at Rangoon, capture of Bassein, Prome and Pegu—Annexation of Pegu or Lower Burma by a Proclamation on 20th December, 1852—Extension of the limits of the British Indian Empire to the river Salween, eastern frontier of India protected against incursions from outside—Independent kingdom of Upper Burma shut off from access to the sea except through British territory; Arthur Phayre appointed Commissioner of Pegu—His administrative reforms; change in the internal history of Burma—King Pagon deposed by his brother Mindon—Efforts of King Mindon to get Pegu failed—His building of the new capital at Mandalay, summoning of the Fifth Buddhist Council and presentation of a new spire to the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon—His reforms—Courteous treatment of the British officers and commercial treaties between Burma and the Government of India in 1862 and 1867—His death signal for disorder in the Burmese kingdom—His son and successors a man of cruel disposition—His perpetration of massacres—Offence given to the Government of India—His policy of negotiating commercial treaties with Germany, Italy and France roused British suspicions—Opposition of the latter to his treaties Growing strained relations between him and the Government of India—His hard treatment of the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation—An ultimatum sent by Lord Dufferin—His refusal to accept British terms—Outbreak of Third Anglo-Burmese War—Occupation of Mandalay by Pendergast—Thibaw deported with his family to Ratnagiri in the Bombay Presidency—Upper Burma annexed by a formal proclamation on 1st January, Conquest of Upper Burma a high-handed act; 1886—Change in the Government of India's diplomatic relations with China; disturbances on the Burmese frontier during 1923-24—Creation of Burma Frontier Service—Changes introduced in Burma by the new British administrators—Constitution of British Burma in 1862 with Pegu, Tenasserim and Arakan—Formation of the province of

Burma under a Chief Commissioner of Burma in 1885 by combining Upper and Lower Burma—The province placed under a Lieutenant-Governor and the Burmese Legislative Council formed in 1897; Modern suggestions and ideas about the constitution of Burma—Opinion of the Joint Select Committee—Burma constituted as a Governor's Province at the beginning of 1923—The Indian Statutory Commission considered Burma as a unit by itself in every respect and believed in the necessity of its separation from India on two grounds—Separation of Burma from India a burning topic of present-day politics. Fall of the Ahome kingdom of Assam—Conquest of Assam by the Burmese in 1821-22—Assam under British control after the treaty of Yandaboo—Gradual expansion of British influence—Assam placed under a separate commissioner in 1874; Manipur troubles—Murder of Mr. Quinton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam—Manipur occupied by British troops and placed under the control of a British Political Agent; Plan of Bengal partition and formation of a separate province of Eastern Bengal and Assam—It changed in 1912—Assam left as a separate unit—The present Assam province dependent on Bengal for Justice and Education.

291—302

### *Section VII—Growth of an Indian Foreign Policy*

Outline of Indian Foreign Policy—Afghan menace from the North-West and French peril influenced the foreign policy of the East India Company during the last decade of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century—Lord Wellesley's plans and measures to counteract there; influence of European affairs upon Indian politics—The place of France taken by Russia after Waterloo; Lord Minto's precautionary measures,—Apprehensions of Russian advance led to the First Afghan War—Visit of the Tsar Nicholas to Queen Victoria in 1844 and the formation of an Anglo-Russian entente—Comparative relief of the Government of India; Outbreak of the Crimean War—Reawakening of Anglo-Russian jealousy—Russian advance as a serious menace to the safety of the British Indian Empire; Lawrence's policy of 'Masterly Inactivity' and Northbrook's cold behaviour; dissatisfaction of Sher Ali—His leanings towards an alliance with Russia; further complications with the outbreak of the Balkan Wars of 1876-78 and the decision of the Berlin Congress; Lytton's vigorous policy—Outbreak of war with Afghanistan—British victory; Ripon and end of the Afghan War—His measures to check Russian designs in Afghanistan; a new orientation in foreign policy from 1880 due to French and German rivalries against England in the East; Dangers in the North and North-East; France and England combined against German militarism during the early 20th century—Influence of the World War—New complications; Bolshevik influence in the North-West after the war. Foreign policy of free India.

303—306

### CHAPTER VII—THE INDIAN STATES

History of the Indian States important and interesting; all Indian States cannot fall under one category—Mr. Panni-

kar places them in three distinct classes; various circumstances influenced the course of the relations between the States and the Government of India—Mr. Lee-Warner's study of the relations in three epochs, (1) that of the 'policy of ringfence,' (2) that of 'subordinate isolation' from 1813—1857, (3) that of 'subordinate union' from 1857; a fourth, that of equal federation now in process of evolution may be added; exceptions to the policy of non-interference during the first period; a transformation in the position of the Company effected by Lord Wellesley; two points in its relations with the Indian States at that time, (1) all treaties except that with Mysore negotiated on a basis of equality, (2) absolute authority of the Ruler over his subjects guaranteed and claim of the Company to intervene in the internal affairs of the states repudiated—Omission of those points by Wellesley whenever possible; examples of 'double government' in the states during the middle of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century; treaties of reciprocity gave place to those of subordinate co-operation after 1818—Surrender of all external sovereignty—Their internal sovereignty remained intact—Its violation in actual practice; Lord Hastings not an annexationist; disturbances in Alwar and Baranpur due to British reverses in Burma—Capture of the British fort—Vindication of British prestige; two features in the relations between the Government of India and the Indian States from the retirement of Lord Hastings till the Mutiny,—(1) Growth of the power of the Company's Residents in the internal administration of the state, (2) Policy of annexation frankly pursued by the Governors-General of this period; political and economic backgrounds of the policy of annexation—Misgovernment in the states and the desire to extend the benefits of British rule advanced as two grounds, for annexation—Policy of subsidiary alliance responsible for misgovernment in the states; policy of annexation beginning since the time of Bentinck, emphasised in the time of Auckland, reached its culminating point in the time of Lord Dalhousie—'Doctrine of lapse' and the maxim of 'the good of the governed'—suspicions and uneasiness in the minds of the native rulers due to Dalhousie's annexations—Every case except that of Karauli approved by the Court of Directors; Mysore in British hands in 1831—Annexation of Cachar and Manipur in 1832—Of Jaintia in 1895—Coorg annexed in 1872—Karnal in 1842; troubles in Gwalior—Armed intervention of the British—Defeat of the Gwalior troops at Maharajpur and Pannair—Gwalior not annexed but reduced to the position of a dependent state under a Council of Regency acting with the advice of a British Resident—Loyalty of the Sindhia and the native army under Dinkar Rao during the Mutiny; Application of the 'Doctrine of lapse' before and during the time of Dalhousie,—to Mandavi in 1839—Kolaba and Jalun in 1840—Surat in 1842—Satara in 1848—Jaitpur and Sambalpur and Baghat in 1850—Udaipur in 1852—Jhansi in 1853—Nagpur in 1854; Dalhousie's statement of his own standpoint; political and economic advantages of the annexation of Nagpur—Different opinions about Dalhousie's disposal of the Nagpur state funds and treasures; native titles and pensions swept away

by Dalhousie in the Carnatic, in Tanjore and of Nana Saheb. Annexation of Oudh on the charge of mis-government. February 1856—Oudh's history since 1801—Bentinck's warning to the ruler of Oudh—Auckland's treaty with him in 1837 abrogated by the Court of Directors—Auckland's mishandling of it and its actual inclusion in a subsequent government publication—Hardinge's warning to the Oudh ruler in 1847—Sleeman's and Outram's remarks about her deplorable condition—Dalhousie not personally inclined towards annexation but he was overruled by the Court of Directors—Wajid Ali Shah deported to Calcutta and lived there as a prisoner—Criticism of Oudh annexation—A question of territorial aggrandisement—The Company responsible for her misgovernment Loyalty of the Oudh ruler not considered—Violation of an old treaty could be urged by him; assurances of non-interference to some states; the Company's policy from 1818 to 1858 'Chaotic, indefinite and contradictory'; ambiguous position of the states not changed after 1858; Services of the states during the Mutiny—Their rewards—Reversal of the Company's policy of annexation—A new policy towards them—Lord Canning's *sanads* in two forms, for the Hindus and the Muslims—Successions in the states still requiring the consent of the Government of India; Growth of British paramountcy—The states considered as parts of a single charge—Stricter-British control over the states—Exercise of the Crown's prerogatives in certain ways—dependent character of the states urged by different Viceroy's—Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in 1875, the Delhi Durbar of 1876—Strengthening of the Imperial idea by Curzon and Hardinge; interference of the Paramount Power in the internal affairs of the states increased through various developments, construction of railways and telegraph lines, growth of public press, extension of free trade etc.—Lord Chelmsford's speech before the Princes' Conference; necessity of ensuring good government as a ground for interference—Ripon's Instrument of Government, a document of considerable importance—Rendition of Mysore; the Baroda case 1873—75; the Manipur case 1891-92; the Hyderabad case 1926—Insistence on administrative efficiency in the states in the time of Lord Curzon—His Gwalior speech in 1899—Tightening of Imperial control and ignoring of treaty obligations according to circumstances—Lord Curzon's Bahawalpur speech in 1903—Establishment of the Imperial Cadet Corps—Lease of Berar in perpetuity; Opposition of the Princes to certain measures—Plan of Bengal partition and growing dissatisfaction in the country—Conciliatory policy towards the states—Lord Minto's Udaipur speech—Lord Hardinge's remark before the Jodhpur Investiture Ceremony in February 1916—but paramountcy of the Crown emphasised; The new policy manifested in two measures, (1) further development of Imperial service troops—their services, (2) abandonment of the policy of the isolation of individual states—Fruitless plans of Lytton for an Indian Privy Council,—of Curzon for a Council of Ruling Princes, of Minto for an Imperial Advisory Council and then for an Imperial Council of Ruling Princes—Cooperation and conferences carried further after the War by Lord

Hardings and Lord Chelmsford—The M. C. Report's recommendation among other things for the separation of "permanent consultative body"—Ultimate creation of the chamber of Princes by Royal Proclamation on 8th February, 1921—Composition of the Chamber of Princes; Modern constitutional problems and the position of the Indian States—Appointment of the Butler Committee, 1927, to enquire into the relations between the States and the Government of India and to make recommendations for the future—Classification of the states by this Committee—Its Recommendations—Their criticisms—Proposed Federation and the position of the Indian State—Recommendations of the Simon Commission—Attendance of the Round Table Conferences by the Princes and their representatives—Their speeches and attitude—Real federation an intricate problem for India—The White-paper proposals—Their defects,—Government of India Act, 1935—Cabinet Mission Plan—integration new India—Jammu and Kashmir—Reorganisation of the States and the Union territories.

307—330

## CHAPTER VIII—INDO-BRITISH INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION (FROM 1786)

### *Section I—Revenue Administration*

Failure of the reforms of Warren Hastings; evils of the farming system; Pitt's India Act sought to be given effect to in 1786; Settlements to be at first decennial, then permanent if satisfactory; Permanent Settlement not preconceived by Cornwallis; Annual settlements continued; Enquiries into land problems by Shore; Shore-Cornwallis controversy; Shore's Minute of 1789 for 'Ten Years' Settlement; Cornwallis' Minute in favour of a Permanent Settlement; Shore's rejoinder 1789; Cornwallis' strong reply, 1790; Decennial Settlement Rules 1790—91; Permanent Settlement ultimately decided upon, 1792, and proclaimed 1793; Merits and demerits: "a brave and wise measure" or "a sad blunder"; latter view truer; not an unmixed blessing; zemindars got fixity of tenure but such proprietary rights unknown; immediate effects disastrous on zemindars; revenue heavy; sale laws destroying the old Bengal aristocracy; Rayatwari rights and interests ignored; Government's power of Tenancy Legislation not used; Zemindars strengthened; Regulation VII of 1799; Cornwallis' expectations from Zemindars not fulfilled; Provision of protection at British Courts unavailing for tenants; Extension of Permanent Settlement urged, but closed 1882.

Two bases for differentiating land revenue settlements : (a) position of person or persons responsible for payment of land-revenue; Zemindari, Mahalwari or Joint Village Rayatwari; (b) Duration of Settlements : Permanent, Temporary; Zemindari system may not be permanent, Rayatwari system may not be temporary; different systems due to differing conditions; Permanent Settlement in Benares; Rayatwari in Madras due to Sir Thomas Munro; assurances of fixity of tenure for Madras rayats practically ignored and Ripon's principle of compromise cancelled; The Rayatwari System in Bombay : its history and principles. Oudh :

Talukdar's proprietary rights; N. W. P. and the Punjab: Mahalwari; C. P. : Malguzari; Results of these Settlements (except in Madras and Bombay), intermediaries between state and peasants set up; vexed question of Tenant rights; Tenancy Act for limiting demands of Zamindars and protecting tenants from evictions; 12 years' rule; land alienation; different principles in different provinces.

Attempts to modify the Government's land revenue policy (close of nineteenth century) : R. C. Dutt and others; Dutt's 'Open Letter' to Curzon.

After 1919. Land Revenue a provincial but not a transferred subject; attempt to free it from executive arbitrariness and placing it under legislative control; the Simon Commission realised the gravity of the situation; no substantial change yet; Proposal to make it transferred subject in the new constitution. Tenancy Act after 1937. Report of the Floud Commission. Abolition of Zamindari. 331—341

### Section II—Law and Justice

Company's Settlements were not subject to the judicial and legal systems of the country, but to those of England, by the Charter of 1661; Establishment of Mayor's Courts (1726) for Europeans and Indians; cases between Indians *inter se* exempted (1753); Mayor's Courts replaced by Supreme Court of India (1774) in Bengal; by Recorder's Courts (1797) in Madras and Bombay, and these by Supreme Courts, 1800 and 1823 respectively.

Cornwallis' Judicial Reforms, the basis of modern system: country divided into districts under collectors; judicial powers taken away from the Board of Revenue and Collectors; hierarchy of civil courts: Sadar Dewani; Provincial Courts; District and City Courts, which had jurisdiction over all residents except European British subjects who were under the Calcutta Supreme Court; Registrars or assistants for doing executive and ministerial business; Petty courts and their commissioners; vakils to be appointed by Sadar Dewani Adalat; hierarchy of Criminal Courts; Sadar Nizamat Adalat; Provincial court judges made judges of circuit; old Deputy Nawab deprived of criminal jurisdiction; Cornwallis' Code of Regulations; favourable opinions about the working of new courts are exaggerated; defects of the new courts.

Changes in the interval from Cornwallis to Bentinck; reconstitution of the Sadar Dewani and Nizamat Adalats *temp.* Wellesley; Number of judges in the Sadar Court raised and number of district judges to be increased if necessary *temp.* Minto; Provincial Courts to work even when judges were not on circuit; changes only palliative; evils still formidable, hence further changes *temp.* Hastings; Collector's position changed.

Judicial Reforms of Bentinck; Provincial Courts of Appeal abolished; District Judges got criminal powers, and were entitled District and Session Judges; Collectors got magisterial powers; criticism.

Attempts for codification; Regulations; Munro in Madras, Elphinstone in Bombay; the Act of 1833; Law Member added to Governor-General's Council; Law Commission appointed; Macaulay; Penal Code; Laws passed called Acts not Regulations; commissions of 1853 and 1861; simplification of law by Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes and Penal Code; public opinion in favour of further simplification.

Indian High Courts Act of 1861; High Courts established in Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; constitution and powers; High Courts for N. W. P. (1886); High Courts Act of 1865; Uniform system established 1865-75; High Courts Act, 1911; High Courts at Patna, Lahore, Rangoon: Question of a Supreme Court of Judicature for India as a whole.

Provincial judicial organisation : (a) Civil : (1) High Court, (2) Subordinate Civil and Criminal Courts, (3) District Judges, (4) Sub-Judges and Munsifs, (5) Small Causes Courts (in Presidency and important towns), (6) Revenue Courts, (7) Presidency Courts for Insolvent Debtors and City Civil Courts of Madras; (b) Criminal; (1) Sessions Judges and Assistant Sessions Judges, (2) Courts of Magistrates : three classes, (3) Presidency Magistrates and City Magistrates, (4) Honorary Magistrates and Justices of the Peace. Union and State Judiciary under the new constitution.

Jury Trial in India; Racial distinction in criminal Justice: European British subjects were made amendable to civil courts by Macaulay's Black Act (1836): but in criminal cases they were tried only by European magistrates and judges; *Temp.* Ripon, the attempt to remove this discrimination (1884) virtually failed owing to European opposition; Racial Distinctions Committee, 1921; Present position.

Question of Separation of Executive and Judiciary: essence of liberty; combination by District Officers; Memorial in 1899 to the Secretary of State; but no substantial steps towards separation taken.

Effects of present political situation on judicial procedure. 341-348

### *Section III—Police and Prison Reform*

Abeyance of indigenous police system in latter part of eighteenth century—irresponsible zamindars and popular oppression.

E. I. C.'s reforms for administrative and commercial reasons; Warren Hastings' new system abolished in 1781; Zamindars' abuse of powers; Cornwallis' Police Regulations; zamindari pykes disbanded; police force in each thana under a daroga; to be met by a tax; expensive failure; increase of dacoities; corrupt darogas; Attempt to restore zamindar's police functions, 1807; separation of duties of Magistrates and Superintendents of Police Presidency towns; Napier's plan in Sind, copied in Bombay, the Punjab and Madras; The Enquiry Commission of 1860: Its recommendations embodied in the Police Act of 1861: applied in all India except Bombay: department for suppressing Thuggee and dacoity; Criminal Investigation Department, 1904; changes in the form of Recruitment; Abuses of the Police System; Enquiry Commis-

sion of 1902; Needs for a better system; existing police organisation.

State of the early Indian Jail system; failure of three Prison Commissions; Committee of 1889 and Conference of 1892; Prisons Act of 1894 for British India; Punishments authorised by the Indian Police Commission; kinds of jail; organisation of the Jail Department in each province; Prisons, a provincial subject after the Reforms, but subject to all-India Legislation; Jail Committee of 1919; Recommendations not fully carried out; Question of a Penal Settlement, decided 1926.

348—353

*Section IV—Divisions District and Village Administration*

District, the unit of administration; various in detail, but general principles same; subdivisions; Collector-Magistrate or Deputy Commissioner; his twofold functions, revenue and criminal; general nature of his duties; Provincial Executive Service; District administration depends on I. C. S. as well as P. C. S. men. Collector's headquarters; Departmental heads for specialised departments but their policy is influenced by the District Magistrate; general control over all spheres.

Indian village, a state in miniature: its permanency; chief village officers headman, watchmen, accountant. Divisional Commissioners, should they be abolished? Effect of Reforms. Revival of village panchayats.

353—355

*Section V—Public Services*

State of public services before Cornwallis; his attempt to improve them; Charter Act, 1793; covenant to be signed; foundation of Fort William College, 1800; East India College; open competition proposed 1853; Indians handicapped; Act of 1870, not given effect till 1879; Statutory Civil Service, not satisfactory; demand for greater Indianisation by the first Indian National Congress; Aitchison Commission, 1886-87, and its recommendations; specialised departments divided like Civil Services; failure of the Aitchison Commission; Demand for a greater share of Indians in the services; Islington Commission, 1912; M. C. proposals, 1919; Government of India Act of 1919; Principle of progressive Indianisation dissatisfied vested interests; Proportionate pension; Lee Commission, 1923, and its recommendations. Government of India Act, 1935. Public Services in Free India.

355-360

*Section VI—Growth of Indian Army and Army Administration*

E. I. C.'s guards; Major Lawrence, the father of British India Army; Influence of territorial extension and political problems on army; English and European elements: Indian elements; Provincial recruitment and organisation: the Bengal army, the army of the Central Government; Army discipline lax in eighteenth century; Bengal army reinforced by irregular infantry and local corps in different places; Native States forces at the disposal of the Government; Causes of lowered efficiency and discipline; Reorganisation after the Mutiny; Reforms owing to Central Asian and Afghan dangers; Neces-

sary modifications in organisation and composition owing to external changes; Reforms during Curzon's viceroyalty; Curzon-Kitchener controversy; The two Great War and services of the Indian troops; Two classes of Army officers; Seats and Colleges for Indians; Eight Units Scheme; Organisation of India's defence forces; Indian States forces; Indian Air force; Connection between responsible government and defence problems; M. C. Report; Sken Committee's recommendations rejected by the Government; Simon Commission and its views. National Government and Defence. 360—367

### *Section VII—Public Works and Communications*

Tradition of Public Works activity; Remains of old works in mid-eighteenth century; Factors influencing Public Works and Communications; Presidency Military Boards for Roads, and Buildings; Public Works Department *temp.* Dalhousie; Irrigation works; Railways; Telegraph; Recent changes in organisation of Public Works; A transferred subject; Roads, partly an All-India concern.

Importance of Irrigation in India; comparative neglect; failure of Private companies; frequent famines and Famine Commission's opinion, 1880; Irrigation Commission, 1901 and its recommendations; Total acreage of irrigation works; Irrigation after the Reforms; types of irrigation; recent important works; Royal Commission on Agriculture and its recommendations.

Four periods of Railway history : (1) Guarantee System; its defects; (2) State Agency System, its defects; (3) Old Guarantee System under a new name, its failure; (4) Rebate System; later modifications; Mackay Committee, 1908; Acworth Commission, 1921; State Management; History of Railway administration and finance; Separation of Railway and general finances.

Posts and Telegraphs Department.

367—372

## CHAPTER IX—THE GROWTH OF AN INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OF INDIA

'A'

### *Section I—Growth of Parliamentary Control and the Relations between Parliamentary and Secretary of State and the Government of India*

Causes and beginning of Parliamentary intervention, 1766-67; effective introduction from 1773; North's measures; defects of the Regulating Act; Amending Act of 1781; Question reopened 1783; Pitt's India Act 1784; its provisions; effects; dual system of government; the Charter Act of 1793; inquiry committee's Report, 1812; the Charter Act 1813; its constitutional significance—the Charter Act of 1853; Supremacy of the President of Board of Control; Directors with no real powers; the Act of 1854; Reasons for fresh change; The act of 1858; Assumption of imperial Titles, 1876; the Delhi Durbar 1903; Accession of George V, 1911.

Status and function of the Secretary of State; (A) Relations with Parliament; cabinet minister, a party leader, responsible to Parliament; questions and supplementary questions can be put to him in Parliament; difference with other secretaries: (i) question of his salary before and after 1919 (ii) Council of India: resignation in case of difference with cabinet; two assistants, Permanent and Parliamentary Under-Secretaries. (B) Relations with India Council; the Council, originally intended to limit the Secretary; its original composition; gradual subordination of Council in composition, powers and business procedure: (i) composition: 1869, 1889, 1907; (ii) powers: council's financial veto, Practically rendered useless by Secretary of States' responsibility to Parliament: Secretary's power of overruling the council; (iii) business methods. (C) Relations with the Governor-General: By Act of 1858, the Secretary of State to direct and control the Governor-General; but mutual relation controversial: causes of increase of importance of the Home Government and Secretary of State; cable, 1870; Mayo's protest against Contract and Evidence Acts: Northbrook *vs.* Salisbury: Ripon's protest against India Office control: Fowler's assertion over Cotton Duties Bill 1894. Factors governing the extent of control: Parliament's interest; personal equation; instance of Lord Morley; resentment of Minto; the Government of India Act, 1915; enormous legal powers of Secretary of State over India Government. Practical working of the system of Parliamentary control; Birkenhead's opinion; Simon Commission.

History of the India Council after 1907; agitation for its abolition; Crewe Committee; M. C. Report; changes in 1919; creation of the High Commissioner for India; question of the utility of the council after 1919; Act of 1935. In the new setup of things.

373—383

## *Section II—Central Government in India*

Growth of the Central Government in India; Reasons for Parliamentary interference; Regulating Act; amending Act, 1781; Pitt's India Act, 1784; Charter Act, 1793; Charter Act, 1833; Act of 1854; Creation of Chief Commissionerships; Direct assumption of Government by Crown, 1858; title of Viceroy extra-legal.

Position of the Governor-General and Viceroy; picturesque, responsible and distinguished; non-party official, in relation to Executive Council and the Assembly; his powers; nomination of Vice-President; Rules for Council's business transaction; allocation of casting vote; powers relating to the Legislature; power of certification; ordinances; consent to provincial legislation; foreign affairs; Indian States; Prime Minister and Governor-General; Simon Commission on Responsibility at the centre.

The Central Executive Council; before Regulating Act, and after; Acts of 1784, 1786, 1833, 1853; project of 1860; Councils Act 1861; Portfolio system; influence of Governor-General on the Council; Acts of 1869, 1874, 1904, 1909, 1919; Simon Commission's opinion; Appointments to be made by Governor-General not Secretary of State; no statute but

statutory rules, to be altered without a new act; Commander-in-Chief outside Governor-General's Council. White Paper Proposal *re* Executive in the Federation : Governor-General's powers, to be used in accordance with the Instrument of Instructions; control of Reserved Department; assistance of three councillors appointed by Governor-General from the Legislature; Financial Adviser; Governor-General's special powers.

Growth of the Central Legislature : Elizabeth's Charter 1600; its limitations; increase of powers by later charters; Charter of 1726; Regulating Act 1773; Act of 1807; so far legislative powers were exercised by Executive Governments : Necessity of more systematic legislation; Charter Act, 1833; Macaulay as Law Member of the Council; Charter Act, 1853; first recognition of the principle of local representation; defects of the act of 1853; Indian Councils Act 1861; no germ of responsible government : Councils Act, 1892; indirect election : Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909; composition enlarged; classes of additional members : General, class and special Electorates; New regulations and their effects; Executive control over legislative functions retained; no parliamentary system set up, though functions of the Legislature were enlarged; effects of the reforms of 1909; the Act of 1919; bicameral system introduced: Presidents of the two chambers; their duration; the Council of State, influence of the aim of creating the Council of State on its constitution; its powers; constitution of the Legislative Assembly; limitations on its powers: (a) central legislation to be presented before Council of State, (b) Governor-General's power of certification, instances thereof, (c) Governor-General's previous sanction necessary for some measure. Financial powers of the Indian Legislature; Relation between the two houses; provisions for deadlock between them.

Relations between the Executive and the Legislature; articulation of powers necessary for a democratic state; case of England : final goal of British policy in India; no question of parliamentary government in 1909; even by the Act of 1919 the Governor-General in Council is legally and constitutionally responsible to the British Parliament; in practice, the Legislature exerts indirect influence over the Executive; but it is uncertain and there is irresponsible voting; Indian Statutory Commission's emphasis on the extent of legislative influence; Its proposals of changes in the Legislature in a Federal India; (a) representation of provinces according to population; proportional representation; (b) Council of State to continue as at present; (c) powers of the two chambers to remain as at present; but Federal Assembly to vote certain powers of the Legislature and Governor-General's extra-indirect taxes; White Paper proposals *re* composition and ordinary powers : they do not materially modify the status and powers of the Central Legislature, but some Executive Councillors to be chosen from it. Act of 1935. New Union Government.

383-400

### *Section III—The Provincial Government*

Historical circumstances; piece-meal conquest, the cause

of defective provincial government; Its basis, not ethnic, linguistic or cultural, but administrative.

Historical development and the creation of different provinces; Effects of the Act of 1919; abolition of the distinction between Regulation and Non-regulation provinces; Governors of three old provinces appointed from England; in other cases they are appointed by Governor-General with sanction from home.

Position of the Governor : his powers before and after 1919; *re* the legislature; appropriation of revenues.

System of Dyarchy; two parts of Provincial Executive; Transferred subjects; Reserved subjects.

History of Provincial Executive Councils, 1784, 1833, 1909, 1919, after 1919; variations in constitution of provincial executive councils; relations with the Legislative Council; business procedure in the Executive Council.

Administration of Transferred subjects; temporary revocation of suspension of the transfer of subjects; ministerial responsibility, how far possible in practice; opinion of the Joint Parliamentary Committee; comparison of the provincial ministries with the Cabinet.

Theoretical independence of the Reserved and Transferred halves but practical overlapping; division arbitrary; Governor's arbitration as to dispute *re* their respective jurisdiction; original aim of joint cooperation not secured.

Nature of the system of dyarchy; its inherent defects; opinion of the Reforms Enquiry Committee; opinion of the Statutory Commission; unitary government through a provincial cabinet; Governor's special powers of overruling ministers; the White proposals *re* the Executive are not a definite step of advance towards establishing a really responsible government.

History of Provincial Legislatures: 1797, 1807, 1803, 1861; establishment of Legislative Councils in different provinces; inadequate nature of the councils created by the Act of 1861; Act of 1892; Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909; changes in composition; principle of communal representation introduced; changes in functions; failure of the Reforms of 1909; Indian national aspirations; the stress of the Great War; changes in composition and functions of the councils in 1919; kinds of constituencies, general and special; communal and separate electorates recognised in spite of their defects; reservation of seats; backward classes; constituencies, urban and rural; lowering of franchise; qualifications of a voter; question of woman franchise. Functions of the councils : (a) legislative, (b) financial, (c) administrative or general, powers limited; Reforms of 1919, an important step in the growth of provincial responsible government, but legislative control over executive imperfect; opinion of the Simon Commission; White Paper proposals. Act of 1935. New Constitution of India.

Relations between the Government of India and Provincial Government; Unitary India Government, responsible to Parliament; Provincial Governments for administrative effi-

ciency are literally the former's agents; chances of federation lost, 1774. (i) Financial Relations; growth of financial decentralisation; finance centralised even after 1853 and 1858; defects of this centralisation; Mayo's scheme of decentralisation, 1870; Lytton's scheme, 1877, and classification of revenue heads; its defects; settlements in 1882, 1887, 1892, 1897; no change in principle; quasi-permanent scheme of 1904; effects thereof; Decentralisation Commission, 1907; Permanent Settlements, 1912; India Government's control over Provincial finance. (ii) Legislative Control : powers delegated to local legislatures; limitations on them; Provincial legislature, mere enlargements of executive government for legislation (iii) Administrative control: India a single and undivided country; administrative functions for which India Government is responsible to Parliament; administrative functions where power and responsibility are divided between India Government and provincial governments in a varying degree; moral responsibility of India Government; Reforms of 1919; a change of standpoint; Devolution Rules; classification of Central and Provincial subjects; underlying principles thereof; Reasons of such classification; central control *re* reserved subjects and law and order; to be reduced cases of unimpeachable necessity; Relations *re* transferred subjects. Legislative devolution after 1919; Reforms Enquiry Committee's opinion; Financial Devolution after 1919; remaining restrictions; Meston Award; Simon Commission on Devolution; maximum of autonomy consistent with common interest of India; Proposals of the Indian Central Committee Decentralisation ; Development of Local Self-government; disappearance of traditional village institutions between 16th and 19th centuries; local self-government, a product of British rule; failure of British Indian Administration to recognise the lingering local institutions and traditions. Municipalities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, 1687, 1727, 1793, 1861; state of municipal organisation before 1842; Acts of 1842 and 1850; scheme of Decentralisation, 1870; Acts between 1871—74; Ripon's Resolution, 1882; Acts of 1883-84; Resolution of 1915; establishment of Local Boards *re* rural affairs after 1870 and 1882; outlines of Ripon's plan; different systems introduced, 1883—85, owing to differing local conditions; village panchayats, the basis of district local self-government. Improvement and Port Trusts. Decentralisation Commission of 1909; Abortive principles of 1915; Resolution of 1918.

Local Self-Government after 1919; a transferred subject; policy of local legislative councils; unsatisfactory work of local bodies; causes of defective organisation. Revival of village panchayats.

400—423

### 'B'

#### *Political Development and Indian Nationalism, 1821 onwards*

Nature of the political development of India; a part of the nineteenth century Indian Renaissance, and a revival of an historical tradition; contrasted with earlier renaissance movements; Factors contributing to produce an Indian National Movement; (a) British imperialism, (b) influence

of the West, (c) influence of scholars, poets and religious reformers, (d) Indian Press and Literature, English and Vernacular, (e) national discontent ; economic troubles among masses and middle classes; idea of economic slavery; top-heavy and costly administrative system; growing difference between Indians and Englishmen in India, (f) improvements in modern communications and transport. Indian national movement anticipated in early nineteenth century.

Periods of National Development; Contribution of Raja Rammohan Roy and of the contemporary youngmen and disciples of the Raja; contribution of the Bengalees in the nineteenth century; the Mutiny, a turning-point in the history of Indian Nationalism; Reaction on Indian mind; Renascent India suffering for the folly of decadent medieval India; birth of Indian Extremism; Muslim discontent; Wahabi movement; National sentiment, stirred by a host of events; local associations to advance Indian views, at Lahore, Poona; British Indian Association at Calcutta; contribution of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee; Indian Association, absorbing the Indian League; Question of age limit at the I.C.S.; Progress under reactionary government of Lytton; distinct advance during Ripon's administration, e.g., Local Self-government Bill; repeal of Vernacular Press Act; controversy over the Ilbert Bill; its principles abandoned effect on national movement. Mysore Representative Assembly, 1881; Bengal agitation for a National Conference, 1883; Hume's open letter to Calcutta graduates, 1883; Theosophical Society meeting at Adyar; Indian National Congress; Provincial Conference for Bengal, 1888! Services of Hume; Review of the history of the Congress; early relations with Government cordial; Hume and Dufferin; change in government attitudes, 1887, 1888, 1890: Congress as Opposition to Government attitudes, 1887, 1888, 1890: Congress, as Opposition to Government; Muslim attitude towards Congress; Muslim counter-Association of Sir Saiyad Ahmad; but the whole Moslem community was not opposed to Congress; British Committee of the Indian National Congress; aims and objects of the Congress at first constitutional; influence of its activities on Government policy; 1892; a turning point in history of Indian Nationalism; Growth of Extremism and Terrorism; factors leading to their rise; mild methods of Congress deemed insufficient; first leader of the Extremists, B. G. Tilak; factors which helped his designs: Poona murders, 1897; circumstances leading to Tilak's arrest: outbreak of revolutionary activities elsewhere; Bengal; congress of 1897; Curzon's administrative efficiency regarded as imperialistic, his lack of spiritual vision; Partition of Bengal: effect on Indian national feeling; Boycott campaign, 1905; Swadeshi movement sanctioned by the Congress; importance of the Congress of 1905; Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lajpat Rai, Bepin Pal; Tilak's Passive Resistance; impending rupture between Moderates and Extremists, 1906; Naoroji's ideal of Swaraj; different interpretations by moderates and extremists; Arambinda's contributions; Bankim Chandra's national song "Bande Mataram"; Division of parties; Congress of 1907; Allahabad Congress constitution; attainment of self-government by constitutional means; Revolutionary party in Bengal;

Barindra Ghose, Bhupen Datta; centres in other countries; Attitude of Government towards Terrorism; repression and its failure; anarchism of 1913; Moslem attitude : All-India Moslem League, 1906; the Aga Khan as permanent President: its objects; its branches; Government tried to conciliate the moderates in both communities; Reception of the Morley-Minto Reforms; disappointment with it.

Influence of extrnal factors on Nationalism; Discontent caused by treatment of Indians in South African Union and other British colonies; Effect of World War, material and psychological : effect on division of parties, Moderates and Extremists; effect on Muslim opinion; Bid for Hindu-Muslim unity; changes in the constitution and ideal of Muslim League; Lucknow Conference; Karachi Congress, 1913; Joint Reform Scheme of the Congress and the League, 1916; Congress under Moderates, 1908—1916; Extremists re-entered Congress, 1916; Mrs. Annie Besant and her contributions; Muslim discontent caused by external factors; need of a declaration of policy, 1916-17; Report of the Mesopotamian Commission, 1916; Declaration of August 20, 1917; Montague Mission in India in 1917; Montague-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme and Report, 1918; denounced by Extremists; accepted by the Moderates and Moslems; formation of the Indian National Liberal Federation; union of political parties broken up.

Circumstances at the inception of the Reforms, 1921, made their success doubtful : (1) Economic : taxation, rise in prices, agrarian unrest, (2) Natural : Plague and Influenza, (3) Political : Rowlatt Act, the Anarchical and Revolutionary Crimes Act, Jallianwalla (Amritsar) Tragedy, Martial Law in the Punjab; Khilafat question; Hindu-Muslim unity through Gandhi and the Ali Brothers; Non-cooperation movement; the nature and course of post-war politics; unity of political leaders not lasting; Swarajist party and its influence on Indian politics; the disintegrating factor of Communalism; its real nature; revival of the Muslim league by Jinnah; communal riots; Akali movement; state of affairs, 1926; new factors of 1927 influencing politics, partly external, partly internal ; Anglo-Russian rupture; fear of Bolshevism in India; Cape Town Pact; stabilisation of the rupee; Skeen Committee's plan of complete Indianisation of the Army; appointment of the Simon Commission, exclusion of Indians; Legislative Assembly's Resolution;—the Indian Central Committee; All-India-All-Parties Conference and the Nehru Report; Dominion Status advocated; repudiated by the Moslem League, and by the Independence League of the Congress; influence of Gandhi; Satyagrah and no-rent campaign at Bardoli; influence of Irwin; pronouncement of the Round Table Conference; Delhi Manifesto and brighter prospects; opposition in England; reemergence of a militant spirit in Congress' 1929; goal of complete independence; Civil Disobedience Movement authorised ; cooperation by a section of Indian political opinion; Salt campaign; Government Ordinances; failure of peace negotiations; the Round Table Conference; Premier's statement; change of policy; Irwin-Gandhi Pact at Delhi; not received well by Extremists on either side; Gandhi's participation in the R. T. C. as the sole delegate of Congress; his imprisonment and disorders in the

country; question of communal and depressed class representation; the Premier's Communal Award; Poona Pact accepted by Government; the year 1933, one of comparative peace; protest against the White Paper; general sense of uneasiness; Government measures against Congress activities; Congress in practical abeyance; Bihar earthquake; terrorism in Bengal; new policies in sight. Act of 1935. March to Freedom. New India.

423—459

## CHAPTER X—RELIGION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE

### *Section I—Religious Reforms*

Nature of the Indian Renaissance in the nineteenth century; eighteenth century, a dark period; Raja Rammohan Roy the spiritual father of Modern India Renaissance; his Universalism; his efforts to revive the idea of Unity of Godhead.

Foundation of the Brahma Samaj in Bengal; orthodox opposition; Trust deed of the Brahma Samaj exemplifies the Raja's universalism and love; Summary of his life's work; condition of the Brahma Samaj after 1833; revival by Devendranath Tagore and Kesav Chandra Sen; Kesav as a reformer; the Brahma Samaj split.

Theistic reformation in Maharashtra, 1849; Paramahansa Sabha and Prarthana Samaj; Social reform; contribution of R. G. Bhandarkar and Justice Ranade; foundation of the Deccan Education Society, 1884; Gokhale's Servants of India Society, 1905; its objects; Narayan Malhar Joshi and the Bombay Social Service League, 1911; All-India Trade Union Congress, 1920; Joshi, as leader of Indian Labour movement; Annual Trade Union Congress, 1929, and Moscow affiliation. Mr. Kunzru, Vice-President, of the Servants of India Society; Karve and Indian Women's University; Poona Seva Society, and the Allahabad Seva Samiti, 1914; and its offshoot, the Scouts Association, Madras branch of the Servants of India Society; Bhil Seva Mandal, 1922, Movements for uplift of women; Devadhar, President of Servants of India Society; Karve and Indian Women's University; Poona Seva Sadan and its branches.

Theosophical Society, 1875; Adyar, headquarters in India, 1886; as a force in Indian history; Mrs. Besant; Benares Hindu School and University.

Ram Krishan Misson and Arya Samaj; Ram Krishna Paramhansa and Vivekananda.

Arya Samaj; Dayananda Saraswati; Kathiawar, Bombay, the Punjab and the United Provinces; his aim; the revival of Indian life and the Vedic model; as a social reformer; the *suddhi*; Able successors of Dayananda, Lala Hansraj, Pandit Guru Datta, Lala Lajpat Rai; foundation of D. A. V. College of Lahore; split of the Arya Samaj into two parties; Lala Hansraj *vs.* Munshi Ram (Swami Sraddhananda); Gurukul near Hardwar, 1902.

Connection of the Bengal Revolutionary movement with the ideal of return to Hinduism.

Reformation in the Parsee community; Naroji, Wacha and the Religious Reform Association; Cama; Malabari; the Zoroastrian Conference of 1910.

Reformation among the Sikhs; Khalsa College; Chief Khalsa Diwan with branches.

Islamic revival; at first puritanical but reactionary movement; subsequent different contribution of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan; nucleus of the future Aligarh University; Literary contributions; as a social reformer; exponents of New Islam; spirit of reform in Indian Moslem women. Ahmadiya movement; split in it; the Lahore party and the Qadian party.

Influence of Christianity on Indian cultural history; progress in first half of the nineteenth century, 1813, 1820: Protestant missions; bishoprics; conversion to Christianity among high caste men; educative and literary services; change in attitude after the Mutiny; conversion of low caste men; direct effect, seen in the growth of Indian Christian community; indirect effect, rearrangement and reformation of Indian religions; growing change of attitude of caste Hindus to the depressed classes; cause of education fostered. 460—475

### *Section II—Social Progress*

#### Connection between Religion and Society.

Uplift of women: abolition of the Sati; Rammohan's ideas and contributions; orthodox opposition of Radhakanta Deb, failed; polygamy; Rammohan's efforts; child marriage; Marriage Act of 1872; Kesav Sen's efforts; his circular letter 1871. Arya Samaj; Parsee agitation. Age of Consent Act, 1891; Baroda Act, 1901; Age of Consent Committee, 1928; Sarda Act, 1930; influence of economic factors and education. Widow Remarriage movement; opposed by orthodox party since the mid-eighteenth century; Sudra widow re-marriage permitted by Pandits; Pandit Iswarchandra Bhasagar; sanction of *Satras*; legislation of widow re-marriage and legitimacy of the issue of re-married widows, 1856; efforts of the Brahma Samaj; Sasipada Bannerjee; widow re-marriage movement in Maharashtra; from 1869 successful; in Gujarat; Poona; Movement for general uplift of Hindu widows. Female education; first All-India Women's Conference, 1926. Medical training for women; Poona Seva Sadan; Generosity of ladies following the lead of the Countess of Dufferin; Association for supplying medical aid by women to Indian women; Lady Hardinge Medical College, at Delhi; semi-official organisations: special Maternity and Child Welfare Bureau; Chittaranjan Seva Sadan; Women Suffrage movement and entry of women into the political field.

Elevation of depressed classes; Ramkrishna mission and Christian societies; Arya Samaj and the Suddhi; Depressed Classes Mission Society of India in Bombay; Hindu Mahasabha resolution for admitting untouchables to ordinary Hindu privileges; Gandhi's efforts; organised self-assertion of the depressed classes themselves; Government's efforts.

Growing laxity of caste system; inter-caste marriages.

Slavery; evidence of Sir William Jones, 1785, 1807, 1811, 1832, 1833, 1834, lingering remains of slavery and government's efforts to deal with them.

Infanticide in Western and Central India.

475—484

### *Section III—Education, Literature and Art*

Education and nineteenth century Reformation; sources for study; state of education in the second half of eighteenth and early nineteenth century; widespread elementary and higher education; E. I. C. did not recognise the promotion of education as a duty. Three forces working for the cause of a New Education in India : (1) Company's civil officers; Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrasa, 1781; Jonathan Duncan and the Sanskrit College at Benares, 1791; Sir William Jones and the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1784; Sir Charles Grant's advocacy of English education for Indians, 1797; (2) Baptist Missionaries; Carey; Thomas, Marshman, Ward; and their efforts in spite of declared neutrality of the Directors and opposition from home; paper manufactory and press at Serampore; translation of the Bible in 26 vernaculars; David Hare; Bishop's College, 1820 ; (3) public-spirited Indians : Rammohan Roy, Radhakanta Deb, Maharaja Tejaschandra of Burdwan, Joynarain Ghoshal; school at Benares; Hindu Maha Vidyalaya, 1816, the later Presidency College; Rammohan's free English School at Calcutta, 1816-17; Englishmen urging the introduction of English education, Minute of 1811; 1813 Act, the first legislative admission of the right of education to share in public revenues; Hastings' Minute, 1815; educational societies and grants after 1823; Horace Hayman Wilson. Difficulty about the medium of instruction and type of education; Rammohan's advocacy of English education; Orientalists *vs.* Anglicists; Macaulay's Minute 1835; its significance and mistakes; Adam's enquiries into indigenous Bengal Education, 1835; Bentinck's Resolution of 1835, advocating English education; Auckland's modification, and grant to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; Bibliotheca India Series : Council of Education, 1842; Thomason's scheme, the circle school system; its features; lack of a settled educational policy. Important Government institutions in nineteenth century; Medical College at Calcutta; Engineering College at Rurki; Madras University High School. Educational Despatch, 1854; its significance; educational departments in Presidencies; the new system at work from the end of 1856; Director of Public Instruction in each province; officialised character of the Departments; Education, a matter of administration and routine; significance foundation of Universities in the days of the Mutiny, 1857; Calcutta, Madras and Bombay; Lahore 1882; Allahabad 1887; their constitution ; Ripon's Education Commission, 1882; its objects and significance.

Educational development after 1882; changes in education *temp.* Curzon; need of re-organization and control of educational institutions; Simla Conference; Universities Commission of 1902; Universities Act of 1904; tried to tighten government control; constitution of Senates, of Syndicates; criticism; creation of new Faculties; protest against official-

zation; Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and the teaching University of Calcutta; Transfer of control of education from Home Department to a new Education Department, 1910; Resolution of 1913 and plans for teaching and residential universities; local and communal patriotism and establishment of more universities; Indian Women's University; the Visva-bharati and its cosmopolitan outlook; Calcutta University (Sadler) Commission; Resolution of 1920; results; Simla Universities Conference, 1924; Resolution establishing an Inter-University Board; Federal University idea. Education a transferred subject since the Reforms; Review of the state of education by the Hartog Committee, 1923. Present-day attempt for reorientation, Recommendations of Radha Krishnan Commission.

Female Education in modern India; the surviving tradition; Adam's survey, 1833-34; motives of female education at that time; Raja Radhakanta Deb's evidence; new turn to female education by nineteenth century renaissance; Work of missionaries like Miss Coke and philanthropers like Rammohan; missionary activities become confined to lower ranks; no encouragement of female education by Government before middle of nineteenth century; Hindu Balika Vidyalaya (1849) and its chief supporters, Bethune, Vidyasagar, and others; Dalhousie's Minute, 1850; money grants to existing girls' schools; incidental reference only in Wood's Despatch of 1854, but government support given; Canning's cautious attitude after the Mutiny; circular of 1867 : no initiative in founding new schools, but encouragement of existing schools by grants; expenditure on girls' schools; liberalism under Ripon, and Education Commission, 1882; more of Government grants and management. Activities of various reformed social groups and associations; girls' schools of the Arya Samaj; personal services of men and women of the Brahma Samaj; starting of journals for women's cause by members of Brahma Samaj; the first women to enter the Universities, 1876. The Deccan Education Society, and Karve's Women's University. Estimate of progress; women poets, etc.; limitations of progress of female education.

Factors influencing growth of literature and Art; channels of literary development; as in the previous renaissance, so in that of nineteenth century, the inspiration for literature came from social and religious reform movements; influence of British connection and western education; Serampore missionaries trying to create something like a prose literature in Bengal; Rammohan's vigorous prose style and hymns; Isvarchandra Gupta; Aksay Kumar Dutt; Isvarchandra Vidyasagar; writers of the Brahma Samaj: Devendranath, Rajnarain, Kesav, Dvijendranath, Shivanath, Bhudev Chandra Mukherjee, Peary Chand Mitra, Pratap Chandra Ghose, Kaliprasanna Sinha; first dramatist, Ram Narayan Tarkalankar; Michael Madhu Sudan Dutt; his plays; blank verse in epic poetry; Hem Chandra Bannerjee; Nabin Chandra Sen; Drama after Michael : Dinabandhu Mitra, Girish Chandra Ghosh, Amrita Lal Bose, D. L. Ray; Fiction; Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and his novels; Bankim and Michael as path-finders; Bankim's appeal to Western readers; Ramesh Chandra Dutt; Swarna-kumari Ghoshal; Tarak

Ganguli; Shivanath Sastri, Rabindranath; Saratchandra; the recent realistic school. Essayists; Kaliprasanna Ghosh and others. Biographers; Nagendranath Chatterjee, Jogendranath Basu and others; Autobiographies; Maharsi Devedranath, Rabindranath, Bengali writers of English literary works: Rammohan, Madhusudan, Toru Dutt and other members of the Rambagan Dutt family, Sarojini Naidu, etc. Rabindranth's position in Bengali and Indian literature.

Hindi : Laluji Lal; Sadal Misra; High Hindi; Hindi translations of Christian scriptures; Printing of Hindi books; patronage to Hindi writers in native courts; Hindi works in different branches; translations from Bengali; signs of a new line of development; writers of the nineteenth century and their respective works. Anthologies.

Urdu poetry and prose; poets; Zaki, Annis, Altaf Husain Ali; new turn; given by Iqbal; Urdu prose and the services of Christian missionaries; Sir Syed Ahmed and others; Foreign influence and different channels of Urdu prose; Urdu drama.

Literary Renaissance in Western and Southern India; Vishnu Shastri; Annasahib Kirloskar; Dayaram, Behramji Malabari, Kashinath Trimbak Telang; influence of Bengal literary revival on Gujrati and Marathi, and translation of Bengali works; South India; Chandu Menon, Mrs. Sathianadhan.

Oriya; influence of Bengal renaissance; exponents of new Oriya literature; Radhanath Ray, Madhusudhan Rao, Fakir Mohan Senapati.

Nature of the literary movement, a general awakening; a revival and adaptation of past tradition; fusion of the old and the new.

Spirit of Enquiry into History and Antiquities of India; Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784; Researches of European scholars, Indian scholars and Institutions; Calcutta University, the Visvabharati, Oriental Institute at Lahore, Bhandarkar Oriental Institution at Poona; Asiatic Society of Bengal : the Government of India Archaeological Department. Ancient Monuments Preservation Act; Native States' efforts.

Philosophy and Science : Seal, Tagore, Radhakrishnan, Das-Gupta; Bose, Ray, Raman, Saha; Scientific Surveys : Geological, Zoological, Botanical; Training of practical scientists.

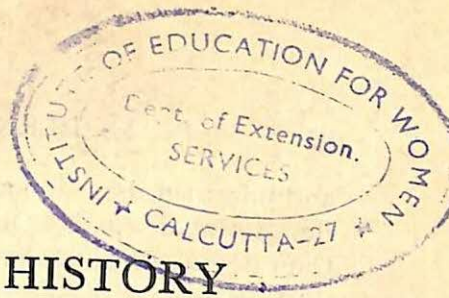
Architecture : revival from decadence from the late seventeenth century workers in the younger sciences; eighteenth century a period of artistic decay; old styles in enfeebled condition in old cities ; examples of vitiated taste and imitation of western styles ; nature of the recent revival : a desire to give up imitation and introduce a typical Indian style; mixture of western and eastern ideas and models; adaptations of modern science and examples to Indian conditions and needs; New Delhi and India House Workers; Calcutta Civil Engineers.

Painting and Sculpture : nature of the Renaissance; Bengali artists; the Tagores and the Gangulis; Dr. A. N.

Tagore, N. L. Bosc, A. R. Chaghtai, pupils of Dr. Solomon; Bombay school applying western methods to Indian conditions; freeing artists from medievalism: E. B. Havell.

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. Revival of Sculpture; its centres at Calcutta and Bombay Art Schools; Younger Art Schools in Lahore, Jaipore, Lucknow; promise of an India-wide Art movement.

Music : Connection with modern Bengali drama and Brahma Samaj; contribution of the Tagore family; Schools and Academies of music in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Baroda, and new tendencies. Revived school of Indian Dancing; new tendencies.



# MODERN INDIAN HISTORY

## VOLUME II

### CHAPTER I

#### ADVENT, EARLY PROGRESS AND RIVALRIES OF THE EUROPEAN TRADING NATIONS

(1488—1744)

#### SECTION I

##### THE PORTUGUESE

THE geographical discoveries of the last decade of the fifteenth century produced far-reaching consequences. Columbus discovered a new world ; Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, or the Stormy Cape, as he called it, in 1488 ; Vasco da Gama found out a new route to an old world and reached the famous port Calicut on the 17th May, 1498. This event had undoubtedly far-reaching repercussions on the civilized world.<sup>1</sup>

India had commercial relations with the Western countries throughout her ancient history. But from the seventh century the Arabs began to control the sea-borne trades in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, and carried the Indian goods to the west in their own vessels, and from them these goods were purchased by the merchants of Venice and Genoa. The discovery of Vasco da Gama brought Portugal, whose merchants had been for a long time anxious to share the advantage of Eastern commerce, into direct touch with India.

The Hindu ruler of Calicut, whose hereditary title was Zamorin, offered a friendly reception to Vasco da Gama and his party. On his return to Portugal, after an absence of two years, Vasco da Gama showed specimens of articles obtainable from the Calicut market to the merchants of Portugal

1. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 1.

and informed them about what were liked by the people of the Malabar coast. On 9th March, 1500, Padro Alvarez Cabral was sent out from Lisbon in command of a fleet of thirteen vessels. From this time the Portuguese came into direct conflict with the Muslim traders and the ruler of Calicut. They began to take part in the political intrigues of India, and entered into alliances with Zamorin's enemies, the chief of whom was the ruler of Cochin. This change was due to the consciousness of the Portuguese that to make full use of the enormous possibilities of trade it was necessary for them "to conciliate the local Indian rulers and drive away the Arab merchantmen." But the ruler of Calicut was favourably disposed towards the Arabs, to whom Calicut owed its prosperity, and some other Muslim states as well were sympathetic towards them.

Alfonso de Albuquerque was the real founder of the Portuguese power in India. He came as the Governor of Portuguese affairs in India in 1509, and at the end of November, 1510 took possession of Goa. He tried to strengthen the fortifications of Goa, and to increase its commercial importance, and with a view to securing a permanent Portuguese population, he encouraged the Portuguese to marry Indian wives. His ruthless persecution of the Muslims was a great blot on his character.

His successors gradually founded a number of important settlements near the sea. They took possession of Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay, San throme near Madras and Hugli in Bengal, and established their authority over the greater part of Ceylon. But in course of time they were deprived of most of those places, ultimately retaining only Diu, Daman and Goa. They lost Hugli during the reign of Sahjahan and the Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein in 1739.

Through the "earliest intruder into the East," Portugal could not establish any permanent dominion in India. The ultimate decline of the Portuguese in India was due principally to five causes : (1) discovery of Brazil by Portugal ; (2) religious intolerance ; (3) lack of farsightedness among the

Governors ; (4) bad trading methods ; (5) rivalry of other European powers. The discovery of Brazil drew Portugal's colonising activities to the west. Religious intolerance of the Portuguese led them to destroy all Hindu temples in the island of Goa in 1540 under the orders of their king, and with the arrival of the Franciscan missionaries in 1517 "Goa had become the centre of an immense propaganda."

## SECTION II

### THE DUTCH

The object of all the European merchant companies was the same, and they appeared in the same field with a charter from their respective sovereigns : so a bitter contest among them was inevitable. These trading Companies did not confine themselves exclusively to commercial activities, but also formed designs of gaining territorial possessions, which added to the bitterness of the conflict. During the first half of the seventeenth century the contest was triangular between the Portuguese and the Dutch, between the Portuguese and the English, and between the Dutch and the English. The Anglo-French rivalry followed later, and the Dutch jealousy of English ascendancy in India was not extinguished at least before 1759.

The first Dutch fleet to round the Cape of Good Hope and visit the Malaya Archipelago sailed from Holland in April 1595 and returned in 1597. The accomplishment of this voyage was a great encouragement to the Dutch, and "the pentup enterprise of the Dutch commercial class burst forth as if a dyke had been cut". New companies for Indian trade were started in several towns of Holland and Zeeland, but all these were incorporated in the United East India Company of the Netherlands by the Charter of March 20, 1602. The Dutch States-General, by the said Charter, delegated powers of carrying on war, of concluding treaties, of possessing territories and of erecting fortresses, and thus "made the United Company a great instrument of war and conquest".

The Dutch captured Amboyna from the Portuguese in 1605 and gradually supplanted them in the Spice Islands.

The Governor General and the Council of the Indies was instituted in 1609, Pieter Both being the first Governor-General. His successor, Jan Pietersoon Coen, conquered Jacatra and founded Batavia on its ruins in 1619. They blockaded Goa in 1639, seized Malaca in 1641, and captured the last Portuguese strong hold in Ceylon in 1658. By 1664 the Portuguese were ousted from most of their early settlements on the Malabar coast. In Ceylon, it became the policy of the Dutch (at least up to 1739) to maintain friendly relations with the nominal "emperor of Ceylon", who resided at Kandy, because the Dutch rule there "rested on a native officialdom, open to many influences of race and religion over which they had no control".<sup>2</sup> They also tried to remove the miseries of the people, due to Portuguese misrule and protracted war by importing slaves from southern India for irrigation and agricultural works and by encouraging new crops like cotton and indigo.

It was pepper and spices, the produce of Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas, that had drawn the Dutch to these inlands, and so "the Archipelago was not only the strategic and administrative centre of their system, it was also their economic centre."<sup>3</sup> But some interests brought them to India as well where they established several factories on the Coromondal coast, in Gujrat and in Bengal.<sup>4</sup> The chief of these were Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Chinsura (1653), Casimbazar, Patna, Balasore, Baranagore, Nagapatam (1659), and Cochin (1661). These factories greatly helped the cause of Dutch commerce. As early as 1612, the Coromandal coast was described as "the left arm of the Moluccas and neighbouring islands, since without the cottons from thence trade is dead in the Moluccas".<sup>5</sup> They were now in fact the carriers of manufactures and produces between India and her former

2. Cambridge History Vol. V, p. 51.

3. Such an economic centre it had been in earlier Hindu-Buddhist periods also, when it formed part of Greater India.

4. In Bengal they established factories even in interior villages, as we know from Gangarama's *Maharasthapurana*, a Bengali work of the mid-eighteenth century, that the Marathas plundered the Dutch factories at Kagram (Murshidabad District) and Mowgram (in the Burdwan District).

5. Quoted in Cambridge History, Vol. V, p. 35.

oversea colonies in the East. The port of Surat supplied them with indigo manufactured in Central India and Jamuna Valley in large quantities and they exported Bengal, Gujrat textiles and silk, Bihar saltpetre, rice and particularly Gangetic opium. Owing to the gradual decline of the Portuguese power and the growing superiority of the Dutch in the sea, the latter maintained a practical monopoly of spices trade in the East throughout the seventeenth century.

The peace between England and Spain, concluded in 1604, did not stop Anglo-Portuguese commercial rivalries in the East, though the Spanish and Portuguese crowns were united from 1580 to 1640. In 1611 Sir Henry Middleton was prevented from entering the mouth of the Tapti river by a Portuguese fleet. The English also made counter-attacks in the succeeding years. By an alliance with the Shah of Persia, the English deprived the Portuguese of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf in 1622 and were permitted to settle in Gombroom and to receive half the customs dues. The rivalry of the Portuguese began to decline from this time and the treaty of Madrid in 1630 forbade commercial hostilities between the two nations in the East, this was followed in 1634 by a convention signed between Netswold, the English Factory President at Surat, and Viceroy of Goa, which "actually guaranteed commercial inter-relations between the English and the Portuguese in India". Portugal recovered her independence from the yoke of Spain, the traditional enemy of England, in 1640, and after this the English and the Portuguese entered into peaceful commercial relations with each other in East Indies. By a treaty of July 1654 Portugal recognized the right of the English to trade in the East and Charles II, by the treaty of 1661, which gave him Bombay as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, promised to help the Portuguese in maintaining their possessions in India against the Dutch. In fact, the Portuguese did not continue hereafter as commercial rivals of the English in India. Their subsequent degeneration into piracy and robbery brought disgrace and ruin on themselves.<sup>6</sup>

6. Stewart's History of Bengal, pp. 245—249, 256—259, Mughal, British and Dutch hostility in the first half of the seventeenth century helped to bring about this degeneration, by depriving them of their trade and possessions.

From traders many of them turned slaverunners, kidnappers and pirates ; others took to the profession of 'topasses' or mercenary gunners, and yet others settled down as expert cooks or gay fiddlers. In the eighteenth century, the name of the Portuguese had become "indelibly associated with two great crimes, piracy and the slave trade,"<sup>7</sup> specially in Bengal.

It was from the Dutch that the English had to face more bitter commercial rivalry in the East throughout the seventeenth century. They claimed a monopoly of trade in the East by virtue of conquest from the Portuguese, and were very jealous of any competitor in the field. The Dutch policy in the East had two motives. One was revenge upon Catholic Spain and Portugal (which were united when the Dutch appeared in the East) for Spain's injustice on them in their own country (once subject to her). The other was that of establishing a monopoly in the trade of the East Indies by colonisation and settlement. By the early seventeenth century their first motives was achieved by the gradual decline of the Portuguese and their victories over them. It became too much for them to tolerate English competition in the path of realising their second motive. The Dutch drifted away from England after Elizabeth during the later Stuarts, owing to England's joining France, their oppressor, and the pro-Spanish policy of the Stuarts (and also during Cromwell), so that the presence of the English in the Eastern waters could not be tolerated by the Dutch.

The Dutch at that time had a great advantage in their naval supremacy, and the conclusion of a twelve years truce between Spain and Holland in 1609 left them more free than before to check the progress of English trade in the East Indies. Both the nations asserted priority of claim to the trade of the East Indies; and their sea-captains resorted to open reprisals or covert acts of hostility. None of the conferences in London and at the Hague (1611 and 1613-15) could effect any settlement, and the proposals for uniting the two Companies ended in failure owing to the refusal of the

7. Long's Selections from the Unpublished Records of the Government, Vol. I, Introduction xxxvi.

English to share the heavy military expenditure of the Dutch. In July 1619, due to the pressure exerted upon the English Company by James I, who wanted to be the peacemaker of Europe, the English came to terms with the Dutch. The English were rather gradually granted a share in the trade in return for their promise to give up all claim to compensation for past wrongs and to share a part of the military expenses of the Dutch. But this union lasted only for two years. In 1621 the English were forcibly driven out of Lantor and Pulo-Run. In 1623 the massacre of Amboyna, which "marked the climax of Dutch hatred" of the English in the eastern seas, destroyed all chances of compromise. Van Speult, the Dutch Governor of Amboyna, arrested Towerson, the English agent, with eighteen Englishmen and nine Japanese soldiers, and a Portuguese, on a concocted charge of conspiracy to surprise the Dutch fort on the 17th February. The charge was a false one as the "supposed plot was a mere figment of the imagination, if it were not deliberate device to exterminate the English factory." The English and the Japanese prisoners were subjected to cruel tortures, and Towerson, with nine other Englishmen and nine Japanese, was put to death. This cruel massacre caused an outburst of indignation in England. But in spite of a great feeling of resentment and use of strong words by James I and Charles I England received no real reparations for thirty years till the time of Oliver Cromwell. By the treaty of Westminster in 1654 the question of claims and counter-claims was referred to four Commissioners, taken from both sides, sitting in London. By the decision of the Commissioners, the English got back Pulo-Run, a sum of 85,000 as indemnity for the company, and 3,615 for the heirs of the victims of the Amboyna massacre. By the treaty of Breda in 1667, Pulo-Run and some other places were finally given over to the Dutch in return for the valuable colonial possession of New Amsterdam, renamed New York.

The English gradually turned their attention towards India leaving the Dutch secure in their dominion over the Spice Islands. The Dutch began to restrict their activities more and more to the Malaya Archipelago and the English

to concentrate more and more on India. But the jealousy of English commerce and influence in India subsisted. In the years 1672-1674 the Dutch constantly stopped communication between Surat and the new English settlement of Bombay, and captured three home-bound English ships in the Bay of Bengal.<sup>8</sup> When Prince Azim-us-Shan went to Burdwan in 1698 A. D., the Dutch chief of Chinsura sent an agent to his camp representing that while his nation paid a duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on all their commerce, the English paid only 3,000 per annum. He therefore prayed that the Dutch might be put on the same footing as the English.<sup>9</sup> Over and above the Dutch jealousy which continued even down to 1759<sup>10</sup> the English Company in India had presently to measure its strength with the French, whose trading and political activities had now developed considerably.

### SECTION III

#### THE FRENCH

Three maritime powers had effected permanent settlements in India, before French entered into the race for commercial gains in the east. Yet "the desire for eastern traffic displayed itself at a very early period among the French"<sup>11</sup> In 1503, only five years after the Portuguese landing in India, two ships fitted out by some Rouen merchants for trading in the Eastern seas left the port of Harve, but nothing was heard of them afterwards. In July 1527 a Norman ship belonging to the Rouen merchants appeared at Diu.<sup>12</sup> In 1601 a company of St. Malo merchants sent two ships, which went up to the Maldives and Sumatra. New prospects appeared with the peaceful reign of Henry IV, and attempts were made to found a French East India Company. In 1616 two ships were fitted out and sent to the East, and on October 2, 1619, an expedition of three ships under the command of Beauieu sailed from Harfleur and reached Achin in island of Sumatra. But these

8. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 56.

9. Stewart's History of Bengal, p. 385.

10. Battle of Bedara, vide infra.

11. Malleon, History of the French in India, p. 35.

12. Cambridge History, Vol. V, p. 61.

attempts of the French sailors received a considerable check from the Dutch, who strove to maintain their monopoly of Eastern trade.<sup>13</sup> For more than twenty years after this, the French made no attempts in this direction. It was Richelieu who again took up the idea of commerce with the East, and under his auspices was founded the 'Society de l'Orient' in 1642. The company, however, devoted all its sources to and exhausted all its energies in the colonisation of Madagascar, under the leadership of Pronis and Flacourt.

But the exploits of some missionaries and travellers in reaching India, by a short-cut land route through Asia Minor, enhanced the desire of the French to share the profits of Eastern trade with the Dutch and English. Colbert, the great Minister of Louis XIV, "became the interpreter of the unanimous desire of the merchants and mariners of the kingdom, as well as of those who desired its economic development, and at his proposal and inspiration the "Compagnie des Indes Orientales" was formed in 1664. This company received various privileges from the state, and it began its career with a capital of about 5,500,000 livres, including the 3,000,000 advanced by the king. Nevertheless its first movements were "neither well considered nor fortunate" because the Company spent much of its energies in fruitless endeavours to revive the colonies of Madagascar. But in 1667 another expedition sailed from France, under the command of Francis Caron,<sup>14</sup> who was accompanied by Marcara, a native of Ispahan.<sup>15</sup> Francis

13. In 1625 Isaac de Razilly declared that "as regards Asia and the East Indies there is no hope of planting colonies, for the way is too long, and the Spaniards and Dutch are too strong to suffer it." Quoted in Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 61.

14. Francis Caron, though of French origin, was born in Holland and spent many years in the service of the Dutch Republic. But later on he became dissatisfied with the Dutch and tendered his services to Colbert.

15. From a recent letter of the Siamese King to the Bihar Shah Conference, it becomes clear that the Persians in the middle of the seventeenth century were trading and settling in Siam; this period therefore saw some Persian maritime activity. Cf. also their driving out the Portuguese from Ormuz, evidently to recapture the trade between Persia and the Far East.

Caron founded the first French factory at Surat in 1668; and another factory was established at Masulipatam in 1669 through the efforts of Marcara, under a patent obtained from the King of Golkunda. In 1672 the French occupied San Thome, but in the following years their Admiral de la Haye, was driven from Trincomali, and in 1674 the French were defeated by a combined force of the Dutch and the King of Golkunda (whose jealousy against the French had been excited by the Dutch), and had to surrender San Thome to the Dutch. In the meantime, Bellanger de Lespinay, one of the volunteers who had accompanied Admiral de la Haye, obtained from Sher Khan Lodi, the governor of the King of Bijapur in Tanjore and the Carnatic, a site for a factory eighty-five miles south of Madras. Thus the foundation of Pondicherry was laid (1674) in this modest fashion, and it was Francis Martin, who by his great courage, intelligence and perseverance developed it into a place of importance" amid the clash of arms and the clamour of falling kingdoms".<sup>16</sup>

In Bengal the French built a factory at Chandernagore (1690-92, about the same time as Calcutta was founded by the English Company) on a site granted to them by Nawab Shais-ta Khan 'about the year 1676'.<sup>17</sup>

The outbreak of a war in Europe between the Dutch (supported by England) and French reacted adversely on the fortune of the French in India. In 1693 the Dutch captured Pondicherry, which remained in their possession for six years, and they fortified it in various ways. But it was restored to the French by the treaty of Ryswick in 1697, with its fortifications intact, though they did not actually get back its possession till 1699. Martin, who was again appointed to the command of the place, restored by his wise measures its prosperity, so that it contained about 40,000 inhabitants at the time of his death in 1706, as compared with 22,000 of Calcutta in the

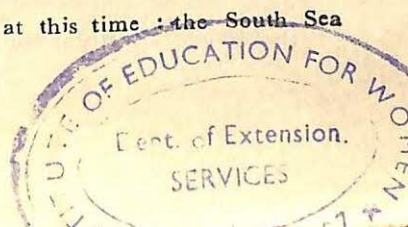
16. Malleon's *History of the French in India*, p. 24 Bijapur ceased to be dependent in 1676, Golkunda fell a prey to the ambition of Aurung-zeb, and the activities of Shivaji in the south created some trouble for the European Companies.

17. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

same year. But French influence dwindled in other places, and factories at Bantam, Surat and Masulipatam were abandoned by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Pondicherry became the seat of the French Government in India.

The resources of the French Company were practically exhausted by the end of the seventeenth century, and from the beginning of the eighteenth century till its reorganisation in 1720, it sold its licenses to others. In 1712 the Company even gave up its rights of despatching vessels to the Indies to the Merchants of St. Malo in consideration of an annual payment. No less than five governors were appointed from 1707 to 1720, but each in turn followed a line of policy different from that of Martin. At the suggestion of John Law of Lauriston, Controller of the French Finances, a royal edict was passed in May 1719, incorporating the French East India Company with the other French trading companies, viz., the Canada Company, the Mississippi Company or the Company of the west, the Senegal Company, the China Company, and the Companies of Dominago and Guinea,—and this great body known as the 'Company of the Indies' also received the right of issuing coinage, the monopoly of tobacco, and the control of its public debt. Shares poured in, and speculations by all classes of people grew immensely.<sup>18</sup> But by 1720 the Company's paper currency became discredited and the "rage of speculation had been superseded by the rage for realising," which led to the failure of Law's scheme. In June 1720, the East India Company was reconstituted as the 'Perpetual Company of the Indies'. From this time the French East India Company again entered upon a path of progress in the East. The island of Mauritius came into their possession in 1721, and in 1725 a small French squadron under the command of M. de Paradaillan captured Mahe on the Malabar coast, by following a plan suggested by one of its captain, La Bourdonnais, subsequently a famous name in the history of the French in India. In 1739 they took possession of Karikal on the Coromandal coast from the Raja of Tanjore. It should be noted that the

18. Cf. the speculation in England at this time : the South Sea Bubble.



two French governors, Lenoir and Dumas, who held office from 1720 to 1742, had only commercial objects in view. There was nothing in their conduct that "allows us to credit the Company with political views and still less ideas of conquest ; its factories were more or less fortified, but for motives of simple security against the Dutch and the English ; and although it enlisted troops, it used them only for purposes of defence".<sup>19</sup> Political motives appeared clearly after them, and it was left for Dupleix to think of a French Empire in India.

#### SECTION IV

##### THE ENGLISH

During the sixteenth century, the merchants of England also were anxious to share in the profits of Eastern Commerce. Drakes' return (1580) from his voyage round the world by the Cape route and the victory over the Spanish Armada (1588) marked the birth in England of a new spirit of enterprise and advance in every field, (politics, literature, commerce, etc.). The return of Ralph Fitch (1591) from several year's travels in India and Burma, and the capture of Portuguese treasures on high seas by English privateers, encouraged some of them to undertake voyages to the East. Between 1591 and 1593 a ship under James Lancaster reached Cape Comorion and the Malaya Peninsula. Three years after Lancaster's return a fleet was sent by Sir Robert Dudley under Benjamin Wood but the enterprise ended in disaster. In 1597, Jhon Mildenhall, a merchant adventurer of London, reached India by the overland route and spent seven years in the East. The first important step was taken on the 31st December, 1600, when the East India company was incorporated under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies," and received a charter from Queen Elizabeth granting them an exclusive right (as against others in England) to Indian trade for fifteen years.

At the beginning the Company sent 'separate voyages' in which each fleet was dispatched by a particular group of

19. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 75.

subscribers, who divided among themselves the profits arising from their enterprise. Permanent joint-stock enterprises of the modern type organised by the whole body of subscribers did not begin before half a century of trial. The Company had various difficulties to face at this early stage of its existence. "It had to explore and map out the Indian seas and coasts, it had painfully to work out a system of commerce, to experiment with commodities and merchandise, to train and discipline a staff of servants. It had to brave or conciliate the hostility of England's hereditary Catholic enemy and her new protestant rival. Further, it had to establish a position even at home...there was no active state support given to England's first essays in the East. The East India Company was cradled in the chilly but invigorating atmosphere of individualism. It had to cope with the lingering mediaeval prejudice against the export of bullion and a fallacious theory of foreign trade :"<sup>20</sup>

The first (1601-1603) and second (1604-1606) voyages were made to Achin (in Sumatra), Bantam (in Java), and the Moluccas, and not to India. The third voyage (1608) under Hawkins reached Surat, the chief port of the Mughal Empire. Hawkins visited the court of Jahangir, who received him favourably and granted the English permission to settle in Surat. But owing to jealousy of the Portuguese and the opposition of the chief merchants of Surat, Jahangir revoked these privileges and ordered the exclusion of the English. Hawkins left Agra in November 1611.

Meanwhile, in May 1609, a fresh Charter had been granted to the Company extending its privileges indefinitely (subject to revocation after three years' notice). The prospects of the Company brightened up when in 1612 Captain Best defeated the Portuguese in a sea-fight off the mouth of

20. Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 24. The reference is to the contemporary economic theory that money being wealth, export of bullion diminished national wealth, and import or purchase of manufactured goods, etc., in return for bullion is therefore a bad foreign trade ; the Company did both.

the Tapti.<sup>21</sup> An English factory was permanently established at Surat under Thomas Aldworth on a firman received from Jahangir early in 1613 : With the object of concluding a treaty with the Mughal Emperor for securing permanent trade relations with India, the Company sent, with the permission of James I, Sir Thomas Roe, "of pregnant understanding, well spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comely personage" as an ambassador to the Mughal court. Roe arrived at the court of Jahangir, which was then at Ajmir, in December 1615, and spent three years in trying to fulfil his object. He could not conclude a definite commercial treaty with the Emperor, owing to the opposition of some of the Emperor's officers and of Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan), then Viceroy of Gujarat, who did not like the interference of the English in the affairs of his province. But he succeeded in securing several privileges and a permission for establishing factories in certain places within the Emperor's dominions.

By the time Roe left India (February 1619) there had been established English factories at Surat, Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach, all of which were placed under the authority of the chief of the Surat Factory, who had also to control the trade of the Company with the Red Sea ports and Persia. The Company also obtained a powerful ally in the Shah of Persia, who was jealous of Portuguese control of the trade of southern Persia—particularly as Persians in the seventeenth century took to oversea trade even as far as Siam. With his help the English obtained some advantages over the Portuguese who lost Ormuz in 1622. In 1668 the Company obtained Bombay at a rent of 10 pound a year from Charles II, who had received it from the Portuguese as part of the dowry of his wife, Catherine of Braganza. Bombay became gradually more and more prosperous and superseded Surat (after about 75 years) as the chief English settlement on the west coast in 1687. On the Eastern coast the English had started a Factory (1611) at

21. It will be noted that, in the absence of an efficient navy, either of the Mughal Empire or any other Indian State, such hostilities in Indian waters and on Indian coasts were carried on for about three centuries without any check.

Masulipatam (the chief port of the Kingdom of Golkonda) where they enjoyed a valuable trade, especially in exporting piece-goods to Persia and Bantam. But the Dutch and the local officers troubled the factors at Masulipatam with much opposition, and so they established in 1626 another settlement at Armagaon, a little to the north of the Dutch fortress of Pulicat. Owing to various disadvantages in this place, they again returned to Masulipatam, where their position was improved by the grant of the '*Golden Firman*' by the king of Golkonda<sup>22</sup> in 1632 which gave the English liberty of trade in the ports of the kingdom of Golkonda on the payment of annual duties amounting to 500 'pagodas.'<sup>23</sup> Another firman of 1643 repeated the same terms. In 1639 Francis Day obtained the lease of Madras from the ruler of Chandragiri (the representative of the steadily dwindling Kingdom of Vijayanagar), and built there a fortified factory named Fort St. George. By 1641 Fort St. George superseded Masulipatam (after thirty years) as the headquarters of the English in the Coromandel coast.

By this time the English had also pushed their trade-northeastwards to Orissa, and had started factories at Hariharpur in the Mahanadi Delta and at Balasore in 1633. Gabriel Boughton, a physician, who visited Agra in 1645 and appears to have made an impression at the Imperial Court and the provincial court of Bengal, was granted a firman about 1650, whereby in his name one or more ships could be cleared duty free in Bengal; but Boughton died in 1653; and it is not clear if the English Company derived any definite or continued advantage from Boughton's *firman*.<sup>24</sup> In 1651 a factory was established at Hugli under one Mr. Bridgeman. A trade was opened up with Bengal in sugar, silks and saltpetre, and soon

22. The Muhammadan Kingdom of Golconda did not follow up the tradition of maritime activity of the Hindu States of the Coromandel whom it supplanted, just as the Mughals did not do so in Gujarat region.

23. Cf. the grant of Shujah, Governor of Bengal, in 1651—52.

24. Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 284—86. Crawford, *History of the Indian Medieval Service*, and Roll of the I. M. S.

other factories were built at Patna, at Kasimbazar and at Rajmahal. But for some years the Company could not derive much profit owing to the irregular private trade of its servants and there was a proposal to leave Bengal altogether, which was, however, altered in 1658, after Cromwell's charter. In this year all the settlements in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and on the Coromandel coast, were made subordinate to Fort St. George. But due to several causes, the position of the Company's trade at Madras and Surat was at a low ebb at the end of the first half of the seventeenth century. "The severe wars of the Indian rulers, the opposition of the Dutch, and the threatened withdrawal of the Company's privileges (owing to the Merchant Adventurer's petition for throwing the trade of India open) in England, combined to render the outlook anything but hopeful".<sup>25</sup>

The Company's position improved during the second half of the seventeenth century, and its policy also underwent a change. It had been hitherto a mere peaceful trading corporation, following a policy of non-interference in internal wars, but it now tried to win a position in India as a political power. Improvement of the Company's prospects was due to certain changes at home. Cromwell's charter of 1657 had given a new lease of life to the Company and enabled it to raise a permanent and effective joint stock. In the same year the rivalry between the London East India Company and the Merchant Adventurer came to an end by the union of the two bodies. During the twenty years after the Restoration several royal Charters granted to the Company the right of coining money of erecting fortifications, of exercising jurisdiction over English subjects residing in the East (and even Indians residing in or connected with English factory settlements)<sup>26</sup> and of making peace or war with non-Christian peoples.

The disturbed political condition of India made the Company, whose position was thus improving, think of its own

25. Hamilton, *Trade Relations*, etc., p. 29.

26. Charter Acts of 1677, 1683, and 'Mayor's Court' of 1676 and 1753.

powers of defence and led to a modification of its previous policy. The perennial warfare between the Imperial forces and the Marathas, and other Deccan states, the almost independent but inefficient rule of the Mughal Viceroy in Bengal which became a prey to all kinds of internal disorders and external dangers, and the activities of the Malabar pirates, made the Company anxious about the safety of its own trade in India. Shivaji sacked Surat twice (1664 and 1670), and in 1667 he passed close to Madras while on his way to capture the strong hold of Jinji. Gerald Aungier, who succeeded Sir George Oxenden as President at Surat, and Governor of Bombay in 1669, tried to strengthen the position of Bombay in various ways. He wrote to the Court of Directors that "the times now require you to manage your commerce with sword in your hands". In the course of a few years the Directors followed the spirit of his policy, and wrote to Madras in a letter of December 1687 "to establish such a Polity of Civil and Military power, and create and secure such a large revenue to maintain both...as may be the foundation of a large, well grounded, secure English dominion in India for all time to come".<sup>27</sup> This departure of policy did not originate with Sir Josiah Child as is generally supposed but he was the dominant force in the affairs of the Company from his appointment as the Governor of Bombay in 1681 till his death in 1699.

Hostilities between the English factors and the Mughal officers had already begun. In 1651-52 the English in Bengal had obtained a '*nishan*' from Sultan Shujah granting the privilege of free trade to the members of the Company in consideration of an annual payment of Rs. 3,000. A new '*nishan*' was granted them in 1656, which laid down that "the factory of the English Company be no more troubled with demands of custom for goods imported or exported either by land or by water, nor that their goods be opened and forced from them

27. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 102.

at under rates in any places of government by which they shall pass and repass up and down the country, but that they buy and sell freely, and without impediment".<sup>28</sup> The English factors became very particular in asserting these privileges, since their private trade passed free as well as the Company's. But the Mughal officers subsequently took the view that with increasing trade the English should pay the tolls levied upon other merchants, and that the '*nishan*' of Shujah was not binding upon his successors'.<sup>29</sup> The factors tried to retain their privileges by securing *firman*s from the governors and emperors. Shaista Khan's *firman* of 1672 provided that "whatsoever goods the said company shall import from Balasore and any other place near the sea-side, up to Hugly, Cassimbazar, Patna, or any other place in these two kingdoms ; as also what saltpetre or any other goods that they shall export from Patna or any other place, to Balasore or any other part to the sea ; that you let them pass custom free, without any let, impediment or demands whatsoever "<sup>30</sup> A *firman* of 1680 granted by the Emperor Aurangzeb ordered that no one should molest the Company's people for customs and should impede their trade, and that "of the English nation, besides their usual custom of 2 per cent for their goods, more  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *jezia*, or poll-money, shall be taken",<sup>31</sup> The Company's people wrongly claimed that by virtue of this *firman*, they could on the payment of a consolidated duty of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent at Surat, import goods and trade free of all customs and exactions at all other places in the Mughal Empire, even if these goods had not been imported through Surat and there not taxed at all.<sup>32</sup> The local officers of the Emperor continued to levy tolls and to seize the Company's goods in all places (Bombay, Bengal and Madras), which the agents of the Company could not prevent.

28. Stewarts, op. cit., Appendix No. 11.

29. Sarkar, Aurangzeb, pp. 321—323.

30. Stewart, op. cit., Appendix No. 111.

31. Ibid., No. V.

32. Sarkar, Aurangzeb, p. 317.

The English traders at last thought of protecting themselves by force. "Experience soon showed that treaties were of no avail against the lawlessness of the local officials. It was not that the Mughal Government would not protect the foreign merchants against oppression and wrong. It could not as whatever control it had, it was gradually losing".<sup>33</sup> The Directors also, as we have already seen, decided to exert force for the maintenance of the Company's position in India. Captain Nicholson was sent for home with orders to capture and fortify Chittagong, as the future seat of the Company in that part with the King of Siam, and to snatch off Salsette from the Portuguese. War actually broke out with the sack of Hugli by the English on October 1686, but they were repulsed from Hugli and retreated 24 miles down the river to Sutanuti (modern Calcutta). They renewed hostilities by seizing Hijli (1687), and storming the Mughal fortifications at Balasore, (1686) under a fresh naval force sent from home under Captain Willian Heath. He failed to conquer Chittagong in 1689 and sailed back to Madras.

On the Western coast, Sir John Child declared war against the Mughal authority (in December 1688), blockaded the mouth of the river below Surat, and captured all sorts of Mughal shipping indiscriminately, and sent his captain to the Red Sea and Parsian Gulf "to arrest the pilgrimage traffic to Mecca". But Child had to submit, and he appealed for pardon sending a mission to Aurangzeb under G. Weldon and Abraham Navars on the 10th December.<sup>34</sup> The Emperor granted his pardon on the 25th of December, and peace was concluded in February 1690, by which the English obtained a licence for their trade on condition of paying one-and-a-half lakh of rupees and restoring the goods captured from Mughal ships.<sup>35</sup> Ibrahim Khan, who had succeeded Shaista Khan,

33. Quoted in *Ibid.*

34. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, p. 339.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 339.

as the Governor of Bengal, was also ordered by the Emperor to allow the Company to trade in Bengal without molestation on payment of Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all customs and other dues.<sup>36</sup> Job Charnock returned from Madras to Bengal on the 24th August and the English establish a factory at Sutanuti. Thus was laid the "foundation of the future capital of British India, the first step in the realization of the half-conscious prophecy of 1686".<sup>37</sup> In 1696-97 an alarm excited by the rebellion of Sobha Singh, a zamindar in the district of Burdwan, provided an opportunity for fortifying their new factory, and two years later Azim-us-Shan permitted the English to purchase the Zamindary of the three villages of Sutanuti, Kalikat (Kalighata-Calcutta), and Govindpur on payment of Rs. 1,300 to former holders.<sup>38</sup> In 1700 the fortified factory was named Fort William (in honour of King William III of England) and became the seat of a Presidency, with Sir Charles Eyre<sup>39</sup> as the first President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal.

But for several years after this the Company's trade in western India was under a great depression on account of "lack of capital, the intrusion of interlopers of their own race and civil discord in the Bombay Council".<sup>40</sup> To this was added the evil of piracy in the Indian Ocean by English pirates, who plundered the ships of the merchants of Surat and the Mughal pilgrim ships to and from Mecca. It was difficult for the native merchants and officers to distinguish between the pirates sailing under the English colours and the peaceful traders of the Company, and their servants were held responsible for the atrocities of English corsairs. Aurangzeb accordingly placed the trade of all European Companies under an embargo so long as they did not compensate the losses inflicted on

36. Stewart, *op. cit.*, Appendix No. 819.

37. Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 46, *vide ante*.

38. Extract from the Deed of Purchase, dated 30th December, 1699, quoted in Monckton Jones, Warren Hastings in Bengal, p. 31.

39. Who had married Job Charnock's daughter by his Indian wife whom he had saved from Suttee.

40. Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, p. 339.

Mughal shipping, and the Englishmen in the Surat Factory were imprisoned in 1699. "Finally, the English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy, and signed bonds by which they jointly engaged to make good all future losses." After this the embargo on European trade in the Mughal dominions was reversed. According to the terms of this agreement "the Dutch conveyed the Mecca pilgrims and patrolled the entrance to the Red Sea, besides paying Rs. 70,000 to the Governor of Surat; the English paid Rs. 30,000 and patrolled the South Indian seas, when the French made a similar payment and policed the Persian Gulf."<sup>41</sup>

The Company's Indian trade had excited the opposition of its opponents at home, and rival companies had been started for trading in the East. In 1694 four classes of English traders obtained a right of trading to the East Indies: (1) "The New English Company; (2) the Old Company, trading on their full capital until 1701, and after that, on their limited subscription of 315,000 to the General Society; (3) subscribers to the General Society, who had refused to incorporate themselves in the joint-stock of the New Company under which category the old Company ranked after 1701; (4) a few private adventurers who had embarked in the trade to India after the Commons Resolution in 1694 (that all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament) and before the incorporation of the General Society in 1698."

Of these, the New English Company was a real serious competitor of the Old Company and tried to thwart the activities of the Old Company in various ways. It sent Sir William Norris as an ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb (April 1701) to negotiate for privileges to the New Company's trade, but the mission ended in a fiasco. The rivalry of the two companies came to an end finally in 1708 by the award of the Earl of Godolphin. The two companies were amalgamated under the title of the "United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies."

41. Ibid., p. 354.

The domestic history of the Company from 1709 to the middle of the eighteenth century was one of prosperity. A Parliamentary Act of 1711 extended the period of its exclusive trade till 1773, and another act was passed in 1730 prolonging its privileges till 1769. In India also its trade and influence increased, though there were occasional interruptions from provincial governors or local officers. It is a mistake to think that the political disorders of the time inflicted great hardships on the Company. On the other hand, it took advantages of these to better its status and fortunes step by step. The accession of Farrukhsiyar, who had been well disposed towards the English, presented an opportunity for them. An embassy under John Surman and Edward Stephenson, sent from Calcutta, reached in Delhi in July 1715. Mr. William Hamilton also accompanied the embassy as surgeon, and an Armenian merchant of Calcutta, named Khwajah Sarhad, who understood both English and Persian, went with it as an interpreter. Hamilton, who became a favourite of the Emperor by curing him of a painful disease, succeeded in converting His Majesty's ideas in favour of the Company, and the envoys submitted the Company's petitions at an opportune moment in the month of January 1716. These received a favourable response from the Emperor, who in January-February 1717 granted *firmans* conceding important privileges to the Company. Surman brought back with him three *firmans* addressed to the officials of the three provinces, Hyderabad, Gujarat, and Bengal (including Bihar and Orissa), where the English were settled. The right of the latter to trade in Bengal, free of all duties, subject to the customary payment of Rs. 3,000 per annum, was confirmed : they were to be allowed to rent additional territory round Calcutta and to settle where else they might choose : their longstanding privilege of freedom from dues throughout the province of Hyderabad<sup>42</sup> was continued, the only payment required being the existing rent paid for Madras;<sup>43</sup> certain neighbouring villages, which had long

42. Lately the Kingdom of Golconda, whose rulers had conferred these privileges.

43. Originally paid to the Rajas of Chandragiri (Vijayanagar), then to the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

been in dispute, were added to that city ; a rearrangement of the Company's lands round Vizagapatam was sanctioned ; a yearly sum of Rs. 10,000 was accepted in satisfaction of all customs and dues (hitherto paid by them) at Surat ; and the rupees coined by the Company at Bombay were allowed to pass throughout the imperial dominions.<sup>44</sup>

This embassy marks a turning-point in the history of the English East India Company in India. It secured for it important privileges for which the historian Orme afterwards rightly described it as the "Magna Charta of the Company". The concession for settling in certain village near Madras and Calcutta made the Company an "integral part of the empire of the Mughals," and the right of coining and issuing money from the Bombay mint was an "extra-ordinary privilege".<sup>45</sup> The *firman* exempting the Company's trade from duties immensely contributed towards the growth of its commerce and influence in India. Moreover, the English came to have some knowledge through their envoys about the rotten state of the Mughal Empire in India. Though hampered occasionally here and there by the evils accompanying the break-up of the Mughal Empire, the privileged trade of the Company entered upon a period of progress and prosperity. No doubt some disturbing influences appeared, but these were sufficiently overcome, and more than balanced by the favourable circumstances.

The Company's trade on the Western coast of India suffered to some extent for about eighteen years after this owing to the disputes of the Marathas and the Portuguese, who could not (in spite of English help) maintain their position and lost Bassein in 1739, and the ravages of the Maratha pirates of the Malabar coasts, notably the Angrias, who dominated the coast

44. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 112.

45. But it may be said that Bombay was held in full territorial sovereignty so that it was not an extraordinary privilege, but a great recognition ; the case was different with the Madras rupee (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and with the attempt (first half of eighteenth century) of the East India Company to have a mint or use the Mughal mint in Bengal.

between Bombay and Goa. Boone, who was the Governor of Bombay from 1715 to 1722, built a wall round Bombay and constructed many fighting ships for defending the Company's factory and trade against these pirates. But after these eighteen years the commerce of Bombay increased, as the power of the pirates began to decline, though it was finally broken after the capture of Survarndrug in 1755 by Commodore James and the conquest of their capital Gheria by Clive and Watson in 1756. In 1744 Bombay had a population of about 70,000 and the military strength of the Company also increased. In 1739 the English concluded the first treaty with the Marathas and obtained from the Peshwa a grant of free trade throughout his dominions. At Madras also the English "plied a peaceful commerce, remaining on excellent terms with both the ruler of the Carnatic and his overlord, the Subahdar of the Deccan (Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, who had made himself practically independent of Delhi by this time)." In 1717 the English took possession of those 'five towns' near Madras, which had been originally obtained by Thomas Pitt (Governor of Madras from 1698—1709) from the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1708, and in 1734 they also got Vepery and four other hamlets.

The political condition of Bengal was not so disturbed as at Madras or Bombay, and the Nawabs there maintained some order and peace in the province. So the trade of the Company and the private trade of its servants prospered, and Calcutta gradually grew into importance, coming to have a population of about 100,000 by 1735. The shipping of the port, in the course of ten years after the embassy of 1715-16, amounted to ten thousand tons a year in spite of the English Company's occasional troubles with the government of Murshid Quli Jafar Khan, Nawab of Bengal, (1700 to 1727) and with the local officers of the Nawab who levied tolls and exactions on their trade.

## CHAPTER II

### ANGLO-FRENCH RELATIONS IN INDIA

#### (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

In the eighteenth century, India witnessed on her soil not merely the rivalries of the native powers with one another or of the English East India Company with these powers, but also the bitter and repeated conflicts between the English and the French. With the gradual dismemberment of the Mughal Empire order and peace disappeared, and on every side adventurers, both native and foreign, found scope for ambitious and stormy careers. We have already seen how the French and the English Companies were each improving their positions in India step by step. By 1742 the interests of the two powers came into collision and the echo of a war in Europe reached the distant shores of India. Henceforth the wars between the French and the English have not merely local causes or importance, but they are connected with the histories of America and Asia. Voltair truly wrote, "the first cannon shot fired in our lands was to set the match to all the batteries in America and in Asia". The War of the Austrian Succession, which had broken out in 1740, and in which the French and the English were engaged in aid of opposite parties, thus produced hostilities between the two nations in India.

There were four stages of the Anglo-French conflict in India, the first from 1745-1748, the second from 1749-1754, the third from 1757-1763, and the fourth from 1778-1815. Except in the third stage these conflicts were mainly confined to Southern India, and we should, therefore, first of all review the political condition in that region in order to follow the history of these conflicts properly.

The whole of the Deccan (roughly the country south of the Narmada and the Mahanadi and from coast to coast) was claimed by the Nizam as his Subah. On the east coast there were three important cities, each a place of trade: Negapatam under the Dutch, Pondicherry under the French, and Madras under the English. At Arcot was the Nawab of the Carnatic,<sup>1</sup> formally dependent on the Nizam, but always trying to convert his official appointment into a hereditary rule. The Kingdom of Trichinopoly, at the time of its annexation to the Carnatic in 1736 or 1737, was under a Hindu princess, the widow of the last Nayak, whose family had established its power there on the breakup of the Vijayanagar Empire at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Tanjore was a little Maratha jagir, established as a result of the Maratha advance into the Carnatic in the seventeenth century. Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Subhadar of the Deccan, had for all practical purposes made himself independent of the effete Emperor of Dehli. In the Carnatic a strong Muhammadan dynasty of Nawabs soon established itself owing only a nominal submission to the Nizam, and these Nawabs tried to extend the limits of their kingdom. Nawab Dost Ali's son, Safdar Ali<sup>2</sup>, and his son-in-law, Chanda Sahib, conquered Trichonopoly in 1736 (or 1737) and Madura was occupied by Chanda Sahib's brother. But in spite of their repeated attempts, sometimes with the help of the French, they could not conquer Tanjore. The growth of a new Muslim power in the south had excited the jealousy of the Marathas, who had not received the chaith from the Nawab of Arcot for

1. Carnatic included at this time (i) the east coast territory between the mouths of the Krishna and Kaveri, in which was situated Arcot, (ii) the east coast territory, south of the Kaveri, in which was situated Trichinopoly, and (iii) the adjacent part of the Deccan plateau, above the Eastern Ghats.

2. Dost ali had two sons, of whom the elder was Safdar Ali, and several daughters, one of whom was married to his nephew Murtaza Ali and another to Chanda Sahib.

many years.<sup>3</sup> In May 1740, a strong Maratha force (100,000 according to Orme) under Raghuji Bhonsle and Fateh Singh burst into the Carnatic. They were probably incited by their co-religionists, the Rajas of Mysore and Tanjore, who had suffered injuries at the hands of Chanda Sahib:<sup>4</sup> but "the common rumour was that they had been invited by Safdar Ali in jealousy of Chanda Sahib's designs, or that had been abetted by Nasir Jang, son of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, in order to get them out of his father's territories".<sup>5</sup> In the battle that took place on the 20th of May, Dost Ali was defeated and slain with his second son, Hasan Ali, and his principal officers, his Diwan Mir Asad being taken prisoner. At this Safdar Ali took refuge in Vellore, but returned to Arcot after the departure of the Marathas, and Chanda Sahib hurried back to Trichinopoly.<sup>6</sup> They reappeared about the middle of December 1740 and besieged Trichinopoly,<sup>7</sup> and Chanda Sahib, failing to pay the ransom that was demanded of him, was carried off prisoner. Murari Rao, one of their generals, was left with 14,00 troops under his command, as a deputy at Trichinopoly,<sup>8</sup>

3. Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 41, Shahu, on release, was virtually in the position of a dependent sub-ruler under Mughal suzerainty; Balaji Visvanath had secured, through Husain Ali, the right, on behalf of Shahu, of collecting chauth from six provinces of the Deccan Subah which included Arcot.

4. Orme *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 41. In about the same time, according to on account the oppressed Hindu zamindars and subjects in Bengal invited Shahu's and Raghuji Bhonsle's help, which led to Bhaskar Pandit's invasion of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. K. K. Dutta, Alivardi and His Times, pp. 57—58.

5. Cambridge *History of India*, Vol. V, p. 118. So also in the case of the Maratha invasion of Bengal, the incitement of the Deccan Subahdar is alleged by contemporary historians.

6. Orme, *op. cit.*, p. 42. Safdar Ali had kept his family for the time being at Pondicherry.

7. Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Trivandram Session.

8. Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, P. 44.

The Maratha expeditions adversely affected the economic condition of the Carnatic<sup>9</sup> and gave a great shock to Safdar Ali's rule.

In the autumn of 1742 Safdar Ali went to Vellore, sending the women and children of his family and his treasures to the custody of the English at Madras. But there he fell victim to a conspiracy planned by his cousin and brother-in-law, Murtaza Ali, and some of his own courtiers, who were discontented with him for his realising heavy contributions from them in order to pay off the stipulated sum to the Marathas. Murtaza Ali stabbed Safdar Ali to death on the 2nd October, 1742, and tried to take possession of the government of Arcot by proclaiming himself as its Nawab. But he was too weak to hold it long against the hostile attitude of the people and the troops, and fled back to Vellore, disguised as a woman. On his flight being known, Safdar Ali's infant son, Seid Muhammad, who had been left with his mother at Madras, was for the time being recognised as the Nawab. In the beginning of 1743, the Nizamul-Mulk appeared personally in the Carnatic, compelled the Marathas to evacuate Trichinopoly, restored some order, and appointed Abdulla Khan to the government of Arcot. But the latter soon died, and Anwar-ud-din, an old officer of the Nizam, was appointed to succeed him as a temporary governor and guardian to the minor son of Safdar Ali. Seid Muhammad was soon murdered while attending a feast at Arcot, and Anwar-ud-din was confirmed in his appointment. But Anwar-ud-din's position was not quite safe. The partisans of Safdar Ali were still powerful, and, as Orme puts it, "the province, irritated by their aversion to a lord, whose sovereignty destroyed their hopes of being ruled by one of the family of the race they so much loved, complained loudly of the avarice and parsimony of Anwar-ud-din Khan's government, and contrasted it, much to his disadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs."<sup>10</sup>

9. Ibid., p. 42.

10. Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol 1, p. 61.

Thus there were many conflicting political forces in the Deccan, when it became the scene of hostilities between the two European nations. There had been rumours about the outbreak of a war between them from 1740, and in 1741, when the war seemed imminent, La Bourdonnais, the French Governor of the Isles of France and Bourbon, prepared a squadron intended to intercept the English vessels, but very soon he had to send back the squadron home, as the authorities there thought that the crisis had been over ; so the French had no strong ships of war left in India. Dupleix, who became Governor of Pondicherry in 1742, hoped at that time for a "neutrality in India". But war soon broke out, and an English fleet under Commodore Barnett appeared on the Coromandel coast in 1745, and threatened Pondicherry. But he died soon, and was succeeded by Commodore Peyton in the command of the fleet. Dupleix then called La Bourdonnais, who had prepared a new squadron in the Isles and received reinforcements from France, to come to his rescue. La Bourdonnais reached Pondicherry in 1746, and had an indecisive engagement with Peyton on June 25 of that year.<sup>11</sup> After some unsuccessful attempts Peyton left the coast and sailed to Hugli for safety. Madras was then besieged by La Bourdonnais in September,<sup>12</sup> and it surrendered after a feeble resistance under its governor Nicholas Morse. The English entered into a capitulation with the French by which it was agreed that the "English should surrender themselves prisoners of war ; that the town should be immediately delivered up ; but that it should be afterwards ransomed."<sup>13</sup>

But the unity of La Bourdonnais and Dupleix was not to last long: they soon entered into disputes about the disposal of Madras. The former was ready to allow the English to ransom their settlement but Dupleix refused to give his consent to this

11. Ibid., pp. 62—64.

12. Ibid., pp. 68—69.

13. Ibid.

arrangement, by which, as he pointed out, the Council at Pondicherry would reap no advantage for their efforts and the interests of the French would suffer. He thought that he could not let slip this first great opportunity which had appeared. He wanted to adopt, as Malleeson writes, "that policy even then consecrated by genius, the policy of Alexander, of Hannibal, of Gustavus, to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to use the means, which had been so wonderfully, so unexpectedly placed at his disposal, to crush him at once and for ever. Madras in his hands, Fort St. David could scarcely hold out, and then, secure of the Coromandel coast, it might be possible to despatch a fleet to Bengal, to destroy the colony which had rivalled, and was threatening to surpass, his own tenderly nursed settlement of Chandranager".<sup>14</sup> Letters were sent to La Bourdonnais pointing out to him that he was subject to the Superior Council of Pondicherry and could not act independently in the matter. Dupleix "advised, he entreated, he menaced, he protested", but all in vain. La Bourdonnais concluded a treaty with the Madras Council, agreeing to restore Madras for 400,000. La Bourdonnais was determined "not to subordinate his will to the will of Dupleix". Dupleix was not actuated by motives of personal gain; he believed that the restoration of Madras to the English would again endanger the position of the French. So when the Governor of the French in India, who had strained every nerve to prevent it<sup>15</sup>, heard of the transaction between La Bourdonnais and the English, his mind was filled with great anger and vexation, and very soon there ensued bitter personal quarrels between

14. Malleeson, *History of the French in India*, p. 156.

15. ".....in the name of God; in the name of your children of your wife, I conjure you to be persuaded of what I tell you. Finish as you have begun, and do not treat with any enemy, who has no object but to reduce us to the most dire extremity.....Let us then profit by our opportunity, for the glory of our monarch, and for the general interest of a nation which will regard you as its restorer in India." Quoted in Malleeson, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

the two men. It was one of the misfortunes of the French in India, and it was due largely to the corrupt state of their government at home, that their governors, commanders and generals could not act in union for a long time.<sup>16</sup> But the rigours of the monsoon and the effects of a hurricane during the early part of October, weakened La Bourdonnais greatly. He was obliged to leave behind him a large number of his followers, who went over to the side of Dupleix and the French troops under him swelled to 3,000 men. On the departure of La Bourdonnais, Dupleix repudiated the treaty which the former had concluded with the English, seized Madras and took many of the English as prisoners to Pondicherry.

Dupleix bravely removed another difficulty. Nawab Anwar-ud-din had not been totally indifferent about these affairs. When La Bourdonnais had laid siege to Madras, he sent an urgent letter to Dupleix pressing for the withdrawal of French troops. Dupleix pleaded that he was conquering Madras for the Nawab. But when after its actual siege, he received "only excuses founded upon the alleged insubordination of the French official in command, and when he saw the French flag flying over Madras and the French busy in establishing their authority there, his patience gave way. He sent a body of troops under his eldest son, Mapahej Khan, to compel the French to transfer Madras to him." Dupleix first determined "to employ every art to exhaust every device, to induce the Nawab to forego his claim, and to avert these hostilities" with him. But hostilities could not be prevented, and the Nawab's troops surrounded Madras. They were ultimately defeated by Paradis,<sup>17</sup> who was commanding the

16. "The ways of Europeans, who used always to act in union, have apparently now become like those of natives and Muhammadans." Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Vol. 11, p. 395.

17. Paradis was a Swiss (at this time parts of Switzerland were under France). He had gained the favour of Dupleix by manifesting violent hostility to La Bourdonnais and had been appointed Governor of Madras. Orme, Vol. 1, p. 78.

detachment against them, and had to give up the idea of gaining Madras.

Dupleix's ambition was not satisfied by the capture of Madras. He tried for the next eighteen months to capture Fort St. David, about twelve miles South of Pondicherry. But the French attack on Fort St. David was repelled by a brave English officer named Stringer Lawrence. On the other hand, a large English fleet, under the command of the Rear-Admiral Boscawen, arrived at Fort St. David on the 8th August, 1748<sup>18</sup> to avenge the siege of Madras. The English now laid siege to Pondicherry but it was not skilfully conducted and the French defended themselves bravely. Boscawen raised the siege in the month of October and went away to Fort St. David. It has been described as "a conspicuous success for Dupleix and conspicuous failure for the English".<sup>19</sup> Dupleix's prestige in the eye of the Indian powers was enhanced. He sent letters to the rulers of the south as well to the Emperor of Delhi acquainting them about his courageous defence of Pondicherry against the formidable force of the English and received in reply letters of congratulation.

Both the French and the English were preparing themselves for renewing the war with the approach of a favourable opportunity, when the news of the suspension of hostilities between France and England in Europe and the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) reached India. So they sheathed their swords and stopped their guns in India also. This treaty restored Madras to the English and Louisbourg in North America to the French. Dupleix's work was undone : the French had abandoned the sure in India for the uncertain in America, and presently lost there too.

In outward appearance the treaty restored the two powers to the position they had held before the outbreak of hostilities, but in reality a great change had come in. "The war of the

18. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 28.

19. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 124.

Austrian Succession," writes Prof. Dodwell, "though in appearance it achieved nothing and left the political boundaries of India unaltered, yet marks an epoch in Indian history. It demonstrated the overwhelming influence of sea-power when intelligently directed, it displayed the superiority of European methods of war over those followed by Indian armies; it revealed the political decay that had eaten into the heart of the Indian state system; and its conclusion illustrated the resultant tendency of European traders to intrude into a world that had previously altogether ignored them. In short, it set the stage for the experiments of Dupleix and accomplishments of Clive."<sup>20</sup> From simple traders the Europeans now began to be regarded by the rulers of the South, and then of the North, as powers, whose alliance and assistance were worth gaining. "From vassals they had jumped almost to the position of liege lords".<sup>21</sup>

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was not the last act in the drama of Anglo-French rivalry in India. It simply closed one act, and a second followed within a year. One would have naturally expected, and the Directors of the two Companies at home also thought, that after an exhausting war the French and the English would be disposed to live in goodwill with exclusive attention to their respective commercial pursuits. But politics does not always run a smooth course, and unexpected circumstances sometimes appear to destroy hopes of reconciliation and produce new causes of struggles. It was not long after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and even before the English had re-entered Madras, that the English Governor, Floyer, and the French Governor, Dupleix, took sides in the rivalries of the neighbouring Indian princes, which brought them soon into direct conflict with each other.

It was the English Governor who led the way by supporting the cause of Shahji, a dispossessed claimant of the throne of Tanjore, against Pratap Singh, the de facto ruler of the

20. Ibid., p. 115,

21. Malleon, History of the French in India, p. 226.

place.<sup>22</sup> The English had no concern in the affairs of Tanjore, but Shahji held out before them a prospect of gain by promising to give them Devikottai, a place of the mouth of the Coleroon and to pay all the expenses of the war if it proved successful. The first expedition of the English against Pratab Singh failed in the face of brave resistance by the latter, but a second expedition under the command of Major Lawrence successfully besieged Devikottai, which surrendered on June 23, 1749. The ruling prince came to terms with the English, who were allowed to keep Devikottai for themselves with so much of the surrounding territory as would produce an annual revenue of 36,000 rupees and Shahji's object was not fulfilled. He was kept under surveillance at Madras with a life-pension of 4,000 rupees.<sup>23</sup> This occupation of Devikottai," remarks Mr. Martineau "was nothing but a belated and a rather futile reply to the occupation of Karikal by Governor Dumas some ten years earlier. It restored in that part of the Carnatic the balance which had inclined in favour of the French."<sup>24</sup>

The policy of interfering in the politics of the country, though began by the English, was soon followed by the French in a more daring way. With the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah on 15th April, 1748, and of Asaf Jah Nizamul-

22. The question of succession to the throne of Tanjore was a complicated one. Tanjore, one of the conquests of Shahji, father of the great Shivaji, was conferred by the latter on his brother Venkaji, who was succeeded by his son Tukaji. Tukaji died in 1738 leaving behind him two legitimate sons, Baba Saheb and Shahji, and another named Pratab Singh by a concubine. Baba Saheb died shortly after his accession and after a short interregnum his brother Shahji obtained the throne of Tanjore. But in 1741 Shahji was deprived of the Throne for his weak administration and it went to Pratab Singh.

23. Mill, *History of British India*, Vol. III, p. 88; Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 112.

24. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 125. Karikal was conquered by Chanda Sahib and Francisco Pereira, a Spaniard in his service, with the consent of the then French Governor Dumas, to whom they ceded it on 14th February, 1739, Pratap Singh after his accession to the throne of Tanjore also acquiesced in the occupation of the place by the French.

ul-Mulk, on 21st May, 1748, even the emblance of cohesion and order that had been somehow preserved in the Deccan Subah began to disappear. Of the five sons of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, his second son, Nasir Jang, and his grandson, Muzaffar Jang, came forward as rival candidates for the Subadarship of the Deccan. There was also Chanda Sahib, a man of ambition and ability, still a prisoner at Satara, but always on the lookout for an opportunity to take possession of the theoretically subordinate throne of Arcot. On proceeding to Satara with the object of winning the help of the Marathas, Muzaffar Jang met Chanda Sahib, and the two men henceforth determined to act together to realise their respective designs. Chanda Sahib opened negotiations with Dupleix, and the latter allured by the prospect of increasing French influence by establishing men so much devoted to the French in the Deccan Viceroyalty and the Carnatic Nawabship agreed to assist them. This was certainly a master-stroke of policy on the part of Dupleix, and the French would have secured great advantages in India if his plans had succeeded.

Chanda Sahib was released from Satara through the influence of Dupleix, and his forces combined with those of Muzaffar Jang and supported by the French, firstly, under the command of M. d'Auteuil and then under that of M. de Bussy, defeated and killed the Carnatic Nawab, Anwar-ud-din, at Ambur, south-east of Vellore, on August 3, 1749. A general confusion followed; Muhammad Ali, the illegitimate son of Anwar-ud-din, took refuge at Trichinopoly, and the rest of the Carnatic came into the possession of Chanda Sahib, who rewarded the French by a grant in full right of the territories of Villianallur and Bahur, which more than doubled the possessions of the French round Pondicherry. But Admiral Boscawen had in the meanwhile taken possession of St. Thome, near Madras.

Dupleix wanted to be the real master of the Carnatic under Chanda Sahib's nominal suzerainty, but his allies vacillated and could not take prompt action. The English were now convinced that it was necessary to prevent the growth of French influence over the native powers by supporting the

cause of Muhammad Ali, and from October onwards they began to send him help. Chanda Sahib wasted much time and money in an unsuccessful attacking Trichinopoly, which was the objective of Dupleix and which would have given the allies a timely advantage over Muhammad Ali. In the meanwhile Nasir Jang marched into the Carnatic with a vast army<sup>25</sup> joined by a British contingent of 600 under Major Lawrence and compelled Chanda Sahib and the French to fall back on Pondicherry after giving up the siege of Tanjore. But Dupleix did not give up the attempt and encouraged his troops (again placed under the command of M. d' Auteuil) to oppose the advance of the enemy. Thus towards the end of March, 1750, the two opposing armies met each other on the banks of the Jinji river near Valudavur. Owing to the desertion of thirteen French officers on April 3, and the signs of disaffection among other French soldiers, M. d' Auteuil could not maintain the fight any longer, and retreated to Pondicherry with Chanda Sahib. Muzaffar Jang surrendered himself to his uncle Nasir Jang.

But the French soon renewed their attempts and captured Masulipatam, Tiruviti, Villupuram and Jinji, which had been hitherto regarded as impregnable. Nasir Jang was surprised by the French under La Touche on 16th December, 1750, and was soon assassinated. Muzaffar Jang was at once released and recognised as the Subahdar of the Deccan and Pondicherry. The French were rewarded by him with the towns of Divi and Masulipatam and also some pecuniary grants.<sup>26</sup> Dupleix was welcomed by the new Subahdar as the Governor of the country south of the river Krishna up to Cape Comorin (practically the same territory as the previous Vijayanagar Empire) and gifts of Rs. 200,000<sup>27</sup> and a Jagir including the

25. 300,000 men, of whom one-half were cavalry, together with 800 pieces of cannon and 1,300 elephants with 10,000 Maratha horses of Murari Rao and 600 Cavalry of Muhammad Ali.

26. Thus the payment of fabulous prices to foreigners for Nawabships may be said to have originated in the South, and this spread to Bengal presently.

27. Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 166.

village Valudavur and worth Rs. 10,000 a year.<sup>28</sup> It was ordered that "no money should be current in the Carnatic, but such as was coined at Pondicherry" (which meant the concession of an important sovereign right), and that revenue of the territories placed under Dupleix's control was to be remitted first to him and he would account for it to the Subadar.<sup>29</sup> Chanda was recognised as the Nawab of Arcot under the authority of Dupleix. Dupleix's right over the territories granted to him by the Subahdar of the Deccan was not technically valid as it lacked confirmation by the Mughal Emperor; and some writers have pointed out<sup>30</sup> that Dupleix got merely an "honorary suzerainty" and did not "rule thirty millions with almost absolute power." But there is no doubt that the French secured great advantages by placing their own nominees on the thrones of the Deccan and the Carnatic and the Dupleix's influence and prestige in the eyes of the native powers was highly increased.

Dupleix was now disposed to "consolidate his conquests by a definite peace" and proposals for it came from the side of Muhammad Ali, who was then at Trichinopoly. Muhammad Ali expressed his desire to recognise Chanda Sahib as the Nawab of the Carnatic if he was allowed to possess treasures left by his father and to enjoy a government in some other part of the Deccan. But it was a mistake on the part of Dupleix to think that the English would patiently allow him to arrange the affairs of the Carnatic according to his own interests. Floyer was succeeded (28th September, 1750) as the Governor of Fort St. David by Mr. Saunderson "a man of action rather than of speech," who realised that if Dupleix was allowed to act without any interference and to bring Trichinopoly under his control then the interest of the English would be greatly prejudiced. So the English decided to send active help to Muhammad Ali, who was encouraged by Mr. Saunderson "not to accept the proposals then being made to him from Pondicherry, and on his advice that prince conducted

28. Cf. Clive.

29. Orme, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 165.

30. Prosper Coltrane, Dupleix, pp. 257-258; Roberts, *History of British India*, p. 108.

himself with such seeming frankness that he deceived Dupleix himself while the English were making ready their men and munitions."<sup>31</sup>

On the 15th January, 1751, Muzaffar Jang started towards the Deccan being accompanied by Bussy, the ablest of the French commanders in India at that time. But he was killed in a chance skirmish on the 14th February, 1751, at Cuddapah.<sup>32</sup> The death of Muzaffar Jang might have been a fatal blow to the French influence in India but for the prompt action of Bussy. He immediately proclaimed Salabat Jang, the third son of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, as the Subahdar of the Deccan, and the latter, besides confirming the concessions which had been granted to the French by his predecessor, made some important additions to them. Bussy conducted the new Subahdar to Hyderabad, where by his stay for a few years, he consolidated the new regime of his protege and maintained the prestige of the French by his remarkable tact and wisdom.

But in the Carnatic affairs took a different course. The year 1751 saw the zenith of Dupleix's influence, and from that year it began to wane. We have already seen how the English had realised the necessity of opposing the designs of Dupleix by rendering effectual help to Muhammad Ali. So they soon followed a "long fatiguing and uncommonly momentous war" for the possession of Trichinopoly between the English and the French, the former as the ally of Muhammad Ali and the latter of Chanda Sahib. The whole of the Carnatic became the scene of warfare and was subjected to terrible sufferings. The kings of Mysore and Tanjore joined the side of Muhammad Ali and the Marathas tried to "fish in the troubled waters."

Muhammad Ali was closely besieged at Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib's troops. In the spring of 1751 the English found themselves in a desperate situation as a great part of their troops were shut up in Trichinopoly, the fall of which place appeared imminent. But at this juncture there appeared

31. Cambridge History of India, Vol. V, p. 128.

32. Orme, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 167—169.

on the scene a young man endowed with a daring genius and power of original conception, whose tact and bravery saved the fortunes of the English. He was Robert Clive, who beginning his career as a writer in the civil service of the Company, and subsequently serving as a volunteer when La Bourdonnais captured Madras, have taken part in the defence of Fort St. David and in the Tanjore expedition. He was now to play the role of one of the builders of British supremacy and dominion in India. He gave the first proof of his genius by proposing, according to a suggestion of Muhammad Ali approved by Governor Saunders, the plan of attacking Arcot, Chanda Sahib's capital, thus creating a diversion in favour of the besieged at Trichinopoly. He rightly expected that this blow at the heart of the enemy's country would divide its strength and attention. Thus when successfully besieged<sup>33</sup> Arcot with a small force of 200 Europeans and 300 Indian sepoys, Chanda Sahib sent half of his army under his son, Raja Sahib to recover Arcot, though Dupleix tried to nullify and defeat the policy of Clive by urging on the French Commander Law and Chanda Sahib the absolute necessity of maintaining strongly the siege of Trichonopoly. After the successful defence of the English before Arcot for fifty-three days, Law showed feebleness and timidity, taking advantage of which the English brought into Trichinopoly a large convoy. Law fled to the island of Srirangam, where the English tried to block him up. Dupleix sent reinforcements to the relieve M. Law under d' Auteuil, who was, however, compelled to surrender on June 9, 1752, at Valikondapuram and this was followed three days later by the surrender of M. Law with all his troops. Chanda Sahib had to take refuge with the general of the king of Tanjore (an ally of Muhammad Ali and the English) only

33. "The siege which followed, not only presents one of the most glorious pictures of Anglo-Indian history, but it may be considered likewise as the turning-point in the Eastern career of the English. It was at Arcot that English officers taught their Sipahis to follow them with the implicit confidence which superior skill and energy alone can inspire ..... It was at Arcot, in fine, that the Anglo-Indian army received its baptism of victory."—Malletson, *History of the French in India*, p. 297.

to meet a lamentable end under the general by assassination, Major Lawrence showing indifference about his fate.<sup>34</sup>

Thus Dupleix found himself in the midst of difficulties without a strong army and without ally, and it appeared that all his hopes would be frustrated. But his perseverance and fortitude were great, and he was at his best in the midst of adversity. So his misfortunes could not deter him from continuing the struggle. He succeeded in detaching the Mysoreans and the Marathas from Muhammad Ali's party and the Raja of Tanjore declared his neutrality. The English, indeed, took Tirunthi and Villupuram but they failed to take Jinji on August 6, the Major Kineer, who was commanding during Major Lawrence's illness, was wounded and defeated at Vikravandi by Dupleix's nephew Kerjean. The English had also lost places round Madras, and after his recovery Lawrence was defeated at Aryankuppam on 5th September. The French continued the fight; but in spite of some isolated success which they obtained their fortunes began to wane while their adversaries were gradually gaining ground. "M. Dupleix", wrote the English at Madras in 1753, "has by repeated strokes been reduced very low."<sup>35</sup> His plans were being thwarted and ruined by the defeat of his generals, the discontent of his allies and want of money, and at the end of the year 1753, he opened proposals for coming to terms with the English Governor who also acceded to these. The representatives of Dupleix, M. de Kerjean, M. Bausset, and Father Lavour met the English Commissaries, Messrs Palk and Vansittart, at Sadras, a Dutch settlement nearly equidistant from Madras and Pondichery, from 21st to 25th January, 1754. The conference proved abortive, because of the conflicting claims of the two parties. The French refused to recognise the claims of Muhammad Ali to the Nawabship of the Carnatic and they produced several patents from Salabat Jang and the Mughal Emperor himself, appointing Dupleix Nawab of Carnatic. The English strongly advocated the claims of Muhammad Ali, and declared

34. Roberts, History of British India, p. 111: Orme, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 244-246; Lawrence, Narrative, p. 28,

35. Quoted in Roberts, History of British India, p. 111.

the patent from the Mughal Emperor in favour of Dupleix as a forgery.

The failure of the conference to bring about a compromise led to the renewal of hostilities. On February 15, the French troops under Mainville inflicted a defeat on the English. They also made unsuccessful attempts to invest Trichinopoly and carried some fruitless raids into Tanjore and the Pudukottai territory. But Godehu, a Director of French company, arrived on August 1754, with orders from France to follow a policy of peace, now anxiously wanted under various considerations.

Dupleix was superseded by Godehu on 2nd August and Mainville was replaced by Maissin on 16th August. In October Godehu made a truce with the English which was followed by a provisional treaty in December 1754,<sup>36</sup> whose validity was subject to the ratification of the two Companies at home.

By the first term of the treaty the two Companies agreed to renounce for ever all Mughal dignities and offices and never to interfere in the disputes of the native princes. The second and third terms provided that the "English should possess Fort St. George, Fort St. David, and Devikota,.....or that the districts Pondichery should be made equal to those of Fort St. George and Fort St. David, the French in that case abandoning the country about Nizampantam. The fourth clause abandoned for the French their claim on Machhilipatam (Masulipatam) and the adjoining districts, it being arranged that equal territories should be there assigned to the rival Companies. The fifth, sixth, and seventh clauses regulated the navigation of certain rivers, and the possession of certain other minor territories, on the same principle. The eighth provided for the prolongation of the truce till the confirmation of the treaty should arrive from Europe; the ninth, for the stoppages of reconstruction of any forts or securing any new grants of territory during the truce; the tenth, for the principle *uti possidetis* till the treaty should be confirmed from

36. Dodwell, Dupleix and Clive, p. 81.

Europe; and the eleventh, for some future plan of indemnification for the expenses of the war."<sup>37</sup>

The terms of the treaty have been regarded by Malleeson to have been "in a French point of view disgraceful,"<sup>38</sup> Dupleix passed some severe remarks upon these. He held that Godehu had "signed the ruin of the country and the dishonour of the nation,"<sup>39</sup> when the situation was turning in their favour. The French historian Cultru shares almost the same view.<sup>40</sup> Mill writes: "By this treaty, everything for which they had been contending was gained by the English; every advantage of which they came into possession was given up by the French. By the stipulation to withdraw effectually from interference in the affairs of the native princes, Muhammed Ali was left, by the fact, Nawab of Carnatic or Arcot. And by the stipulation to arrange the territorial possessions of two nations on the principle of equality, the important acquisition of the four Circars was resigned."<sup>41</sup> These statements would have been justified if the treaty had been made before the siege of Arcot, but they seem more or less exaggerated in the view of the altered situation in 1754. The Home Government in France did not regard this treaty as disgraceful; it was, on the contrary, anxious for peace in India, as disputes had already begun between the French and the English on the Ohio and the Mississippi, and "the preservation of that region seemed more reasonable than hypothetical conquests in India."<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the territories guaranteed to the French were to yield an annual revenue of 800,000, and those guaranteed to the English 100,000. Facts do not support the statement that the French had greater advantages than the English just on the eve of the conclusion of the treaty. Trichinopoly was about to surrender for want of supplies. Both in numbers and in quality the English troops were superior to those of the French and the

37. Malleeson, *French in India*, p. 429.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

39. Roberts, *British India*, p. 113.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *History of British India*, Vol. III, p. 140.

42. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. V, p. 134.

financial position of the latter was also worse. It might be pointed out that if Waston came with a fleet, consisting of three ships and, a sloop, having on board a King's regiment of 700 men, with 40 artillerymen and 200 recruits, Godehu had also arrived with 1,500 European troops. But the troops of the latter were not very useful for fighting purposes. The historian Orme remarks that "Mr. Godehu himself was sensible of this disparity."<sup>43</sup> The Pondicherry Council was also aware of this for it wrote to the Directors that "the English had 2,500 men including 1,150 soldiers of a King's regiment, while the French possessed but 1,150 troops 'God knows what sort of troops'—and were almost without allies and in sore straits for gold."<sup>44</sup> Edward Ives, who came to India with Watson's fleet in 1754, remarks: "it was by everybody known, that at this time, exclusive of our naval force, our troops on the coast exceeded those of the French in number one thousand."<sup>45</sup> Moreover when Godehu arrived the treasury of the French in India was almost exhausted. But there is no doubt that Dupleix's ambitions were crushed. And Dupleix was right in emphasising the unwisdom of his country in preferring American acquisitions and opportunities to Indian,—for building a French colonial empire in America by joining Quebec and Louisiana with the Atlantic seaboard full of old English colonies, was clearly a dream, most unrealisable (as was soon shown) than that of Dupleix.

Dupleix is certainly an important figure in Indo-French history. Guided by the daring ambition of establishing a French Empire in India, he, by wholehearted efforts, succeeded for some years in improving here the position of the French, and in enhancing their prestige in the eyes of the powers to such a considerable extent that his English contemporaries regarded him as a dreadful foe of English interests in India. With a strong faith in the rightness of his cause and

43. *Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 373.

44. Roberts, H. B. I., p. 114.

45. *A Voyage from England to India, etc.*, p. 46.

an earnest desire to serve the country's interests, Dupleix never allowed himself to be carried by designs of personal aggrandisement. His convictions were great, his aim was not sordid, and his diplomacy was also not always very unsound.

But certain factors doomed his policy to failure. Success in military affairs depends largely on the possession of a sound finance, and for Dupleix "finance was his stumbling-block from first to last."<sup>46</sup> He did not get adequate financial support from the home authorities. But it is to be noted that he "treated them in a very cavalier fashion, informing them of his victories, but concealing his defeats."<sup>47</sup> From 1751 he could not properly collect the revenues he had reckoned on, and in order to meet some urgent needs, he spent over 350,000 pounds of his own money and that of his friends. But this spirit was not reciprocated. The incompetence of French generals also greatly hampered his cause.

Moreover, Dupleix, perhaps over-confident of the justice of his work, did not sometime take proper measures at the opportune moment to counteract English hostility. Considering it to be a certain factor he should have come to some sort of settlement<sup>48</sup> with Muhammad Ali before the latter received offer of help from the English.

With the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756-63) India again became the scene of hostilities between the French and the English. In 1754 the French Government had sent Godehu to reverse the policy of Dupleix, but now it determined to strike a blow for regaining the old position of the French in India by expelling the English. To realise this Count de Lally was appointed to the command of an expedition to India.

Though active hostilities on a large scale began only after the arrival of Lally in April, 1758, yet in the meanwhile both

46. C. I. H., Vol. V, p. 133.

47. Roberts, H. B. L., p. 117.

48. C. I. H., Vol. V, p. 140.

the parties had been far from friendly towards each other. Intelligence of the outbreak of the Seven Years' War had already reached India. De Leyrit, the successor of Godehu as the Governor of Pondichery, tried some operations against the English and sent d' Auteuil to take possession of Trichinopoly in April 1767. The "gouty octogenarian" d' Auteuil could not act as De Leyrit had desired ; Trichinopoly was relieved by the arrival from Madura of Major Calliaud who had been busy in subjugating the Polygars of Madura and Tinnevely. But the French troops had overrun the Carnatic ; many of its strongholds, except Arcot, Vellore, Kanchipuram, Chingleput, and the two English seats of Government, had fallen into their hands.<sup>49</sup>

But in Bengal the case was otherwise. There the English attacked the French fort at Chandernagore in March 1757.<sup>50</sup> After a brave defence for three days (March 20-23) M. Renault, the French Chief at Chandernagore, surrendered with his party on certain terms.<sup>51</sup> Having a temporary sojourn in the Dutch Factory at Chinsura, M. Renault and his party were kept as close prisoners in Calcutta, and the English were so much suspicious of their helping Sirajuddanlah that they were not released before the Nawab's defeat at Plassey, when they were asked to prepare for their departure from Bengal.<sup>52</sup>

The capture of Chandernagore dealt the death-blow to hopes of establishing the French power in Bengal, while it was of immense importance to the future career of the English. They became comparatively free to deal with the Nawab and their immediate gain was also immense, for Dupleix had raised Chandernagore to high level of prosperity. Clive himself wrote to the Select Committee at Madras : It was certainly a large, rich and thriving colony, and the loss of it is an inexpressible blow to the French Company.<sup>53</sup>

49. Mill, B. I., Vol. III, pp. 197—205 ; Malleon, H. F. I., 456—460.

50. Bengal : Past and Present, July—September, 1931, p. 71.

51. Hill, Three Frenchmen in Bengal, p. 53.

52. Ibid., p. 61.

53. Hill, Bengal in 1756—57, Vol. II, p. 307.

French factories in other parts of Bengal also were not left untouched by the English. The French Factory at Balasore was seized by Lieutenant Young in the month of April. In the same month M. Law, Chief of the French Factory at Cassimbazar, was compelled to leave Bengal.<sup>54</sup> He arrived at Bhagalpur on May 2, and after Siraj's defeats proceeded up to Patna. But he was driven out of the province by Eyre Coote, who marched to Patna amidst great difficulties.<sup>55</sup> The French Factory at Patna, where its Chief M. de la Bretesche was then lying ill, was seized by Coote. From now till 1761 M. Law remained as an adventurer under some native governments in Northern India. On hearing of the success of the English and the desire of the latter to demand the surrender of all the remaining French factories in Bengal, M. Courtin, the Chief of the French Factory at Dacca, left that place and tried to advance with his men towards the south-west probably with the hope of joining M. Law's party. But after the capture of Sirajuddaulah and the installation of Mir Jafar on the *masnad* of Bengal, he changed his route towards Dinajpur and Rangpur and even built a fort at a place about fifteen miles south of Jalpaiguri. His party had to suffer various troubles and had two skirmishes with the forces of Qasim Ali Khan,<sup>56</sup> the Faujdar of Rungpur, who had been asked by Clive to oppose the advance. At last, finding himself helpless he solicited the permission of Robert Clive to return to Pondicherry, which was granted in July, 1758. The French

54. The author of the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* noted that the Nawab was forced by the English to ask M. Law to leave Cassimbazar, and told him at the time of his departure that "If anything new should happen he would send for him again". "Send for me again?" answered Law, "rest assured, My Lord Nawab, that this is the last time we shall see each other. Remember my words: we shall never meet again." Really they did not. After his defeat at Plassey and flight from Murshidabad the Nawab wrote to M. Law to come down to his help, but his letter did not reach him in time owing to the treachery of the Faujdar of Rajmahal, and Law's advance-guard reached Rajmahal a few hours after the Nawab had been captured there.

55. Ives' *Voyage*, pp. 156—175.

56. Mir Qasim, future Nawab of Bengal.